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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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17 May 1985

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

LEADERS VISIT DISTRICTS IN TRIBUTE TO HOXHA

Mihali in Mat

AU211429 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 21 Apr 85

["The Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha Are Immortal"--Comrade Qirjako Mihali in the District of Mat--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Apr (ATA)--Comrade Qirjako Mihali, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of PLA went to the District of Mat.

In the town of Burrel he met with comrades of the party and people's power in the district and attended the meeting of the bureau of the party committee. The sowing of sunflower has concluded in Mat District, the planting of bean is under conclusion and the planting of potato is envisaged to be over by the end of April.

Comrade Qirjako Mihali said that the grief caused by the death of the beloved leader of the party and people is being turned into strength. Comrade Enver Hoxha, he said, is no longer among us. Nevertheless he left us a great wealth, his works and teachings, to which we should refer in every action we undertake.

Comrade Qirjako Mihali made a visit to the "Zonja Curre" agricultural cooperative. There he met with leading cadres of this economy, and cooperativists of the village of Fullqet and had a talk with them.

One of the important deeds by Comrade Enver Hoxha is the speech in the plenum of Mat entitled "Socialism Is Built by the Masses, the Party Makes Them Conscious". We must always study this speech, which shows how the mass line should be applied, because it serves as a compass on the road towards the application of the tasks set by the party. The instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha in this plenum should be analyzed in every work and production center, in every agricultural cooperative, in institutions and schools.

Marko in Berat, Skrapar

AU211421 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 21 Apr 85

["The Communists and Cadres Should Be in the Van and Examples of Inspiration --Comrade Rita Marko Met With Working People and Cadres of the Districts of Berat and Skrapar"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Apr (ATA)--The member of the Political Bureau and vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania Comrade Rita Marko was these days among the workers, specialists and cadres of the District of Berat. He met with the leading cadres of the party, people's power and economy in the district. Comrade Rita Marko visited also some agricultural enterprises and economies in the district.

I come among you, stressed among others Rita Marko in a meeting with the cooperativists of the agricultural cooperative of Perondia, which bears the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the deep grief caused by the loss of the most beloved leader, friend, brother the most beloved member of our hearts, Comrade Enver Hoxha. In these grave moments of sorrow, the party calls on us to be more mobilized than ever. Comrade Enver Hoxha has been in your economy and you have striven to carry into life the instructions he has given you. As a result of this work your cooperative is ranked now among the best economies of the district. The grief, he said further on, can be overcome through multiplying our forces, through frontally realizing and overfulfilling the tasks.

Dwelling on the numerous tasks facing agriculture at the present period, Comrade Rita Marko pointed out that the intensification of rates in sowing should be considered as an indispensability for ensuring early growth of the crops, which is the basis for high yields. He spoke about the major tasks of the working class of the district particularly the oil workers in regard to the growth of oil production.

He went also to the District of Skrapar where he met with leading cadres of the party, people's power, economy, and representatives of the mass organizations.

In his speech Comrade Rita Marko dwelt on the major tasks facing the communists, working masses and cadres in regard to their frontal realization.

Cuko in Lushnje

AU211404 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 21 Apr 85

["Party-People Unity-Condition To Realize Every Task--Comrade Lenka Cuko in the District of Lushnje"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 21 Apr (ATA)--The member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko, made a visit to

the District of Lushnje these days. She had a meeting in the agricultural cooperative of Gorre, whose villagers have unforgettable memories from that November day of 1945, when Comrade Enver Hoxha himself distributed the title-deeds of land to them. With heartfelt words they express their grief on the loss of the beloved leader of the party and people as well as their determination to turn it into strength in order to apply always loyally the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and carry out the tasks set by the party. Comrade Lenka Cuko instructed the cadres, specialists and cooperativists to work with more forces, with mobilization and a high revolutionary spirit and to strengthen the party-people unity which Comrade Enver Hoxha always instructed to preserve as the most precious thing. Then she dwelt on the great scientific work that has to be done in order to further intensify the agricultural production, to continuously increase the yields in bread cereals, industrial crops, vegetables, fodder, livestock products etc, which are decisive factors for the further elevation of the wellbeing of the masses. By acting in this way, she emphasized, we carry into life the valuable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the prosperity of the life in socialist countryside.

The cooperativists who took the floor said that under the leadership of the party, they will always march on the road of the further strengthening of economy and pledged that they will see to the 40th anniversary of the distribution of title-deeds with overfulfilled tasks.

Comrade Lenka Cuko went also to the agricultural cooperative of Kemishtaj where she got acquainted with the work done to apply the valuable instructions and advice that Comrade Enver Hoxha has given to the cooperativists of this economy in his letter exchange with them 10 years ago. In the meeting held here, cadres, specialists and vanguard cooperativists pledged that they will carry out the tasks in agriculture and livestock in time and with quality, that they will apply the agricultural science, that they will carry always aloft the respected title of heroine of socialist labour that has been awarded to their economy.

All the members of the "Stalin" higher type agricultural cooperative of Krutje longingly recall the visits the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha has made here. His instructions have always served as compass in their work to achieve ever greater successes. Comrade Lenka Cuko spoke of the cooperativists about the indispensability to further know, generalize and apply the advanced experience so as to ensure a frontal realization of all the tasks of this year, which is the last year of the Seventh Five-year Plan.

Carcani in Tirana.

AU220810 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 22 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 22 Apr (ATA)--The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani was among the working people and cadres of Tirana District these days. In the meeting organized with the leading cadres of the party,

organs of the power, economy and the mass organizations, the first secretary of the district party committee Comrade Foto Cami and other leading cadres informed Comrade Adil on the achievements of the working people of the capital in all the sectors and of the work going on especially these days to increase the mobilization, action and revolutionary drives undertaken by the masses to turn into strength the grief caused by the loss of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Adil Carcani met also with leading cadres, specialists and working people of agricultural economies, where it was discussed on the measures to be taken in order to realize with quality and in time the seasonal tasks.

In these meetings, after congratulating the cadres and working people of the District of Tirana on the work made and the results achieved in the industrial and agricultural production, as well as in the other productive and social sectors, he gave instructions and laid some tasks to intensify the work in all the social and economic sectors, to turn into a mobilizing force this great grief that the people of the capital like the entire people, are experiencing over the loss of their most beloved and glorious son, our respected leader and teacher Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Adil Carcani met also with the workers, specialists and cadres of "Misto Mane" timber combine. After congratulating them for the results achieved as a vanguard collective among the enterprises of the district and all the country, he underlined that this lofty spirit of mobilization existing in your collective can be noticed even today that it is Sunday and you like other collectives of Tirana are at work to overfulfill the planned tasks in all indexes. In this way we put into life the teachings of Comrade Enver to make our socialist homeland stronger and more flourished, the life of the people happier. Comrade Enver, Comrade Adil underlined, has left us many teachings and ideas, to which we must refer time and again, we must have them as a compass at work and in life, to be always soldiers of the party and Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Adil Carcani paid also a visit to the District of Kruje. He attended the extended meeting of the bureau of the district party committee where he was informed of the work made by the organs of the party and power in the district to raise higher the mobilization, to turn the grief into strength, to realize and overfulfill the tasks in all the fields of life.

Comrade Adil Carcani met also with workers and cadres of the handicraft products enterprise and of the chemical-metallurgical combine in Lac. After he was informed of the achievements of these collectives especially these day when they have produced many articles above the plan, he spoke of the deep grief caused to the party and people by the untimely death of our beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha, whose life and brilliant and immortal deed will be always a beacon for our road for the construction of the socialist and communist society. He underlined that the people of Kruje District and all the country led by the communists, are turning this grief into a great force by mobilizing ourselves more, by taking revolutionary drives to realize and overfulfill the tasks in production in the field of

education and culture, further consolidating the defence potential and to enhance the vigilance. These days, he said, the brilliant unity of the people round the party and its Central Committee, forged by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and which is the basis of all our victories and a sure guarantee for the future is manifested with a greater force. Speaking with the workers of the chemical-metallurgical combine, he stressed the great evaluation of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the working class and the metallurgists in particular, as the class that sets the tone to our socialist society.

Our country, Comrade Adil underlined, due to the correct line of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver, is stable and dynamic, it develops at fast rates completely relying on their own forces. In continuation he said that the successful realization of the planned tasks of this year is a basis for the good beginning of the coming five year plan, the draft of which you are discussing these days in the working collectives. Hence, we are keeping that solemn oath that the party and people made before Comrade Enver to raise higher and higher the victorious banner of the party, the name of Socialist Albania.

During the visit in Kruji District, Comrade Adil Carcani took part also in the meeting organized with cadres and workers of the timber processing enterprise and that of the transport of the northern districts.

Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the working people of the Districts of Tirana and Druje in the name of the Central Committee of the party and its first secretary Comrade Ramiz Alia, for the mobilization and the very good results scored these days in the realization and overfulfillment of the planned tasks and instructed that this spirit of mobilization should be raised higher in the future. The communists, cadres and the working people of the Districts of Tirana and Kruje expressed their determination to march always forward on the glorious road of the party, to score ever greater victories so that Socialist Albania be raised magnificently as Comrade Enver Hoxha wanted her.

Isai in Shkoder, Lezhe

AU2280830 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 22 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 22 Apr (ATA--The member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and minister of home affairs, Comrade Hekuran Isai was in the District of Shkoder these days. At a meeting with the main cadres of the party, state power organs and the mass organizations, he was informed that the people of Shkoder District, deeply moved by the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, are turning this grave grief into strength to carry further through their everyday work the glorious deed of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. During this period the mobilization is great in different sectors of economy, overfulfilling the tasks in the industrial production and export as well. Likewise, for the spring sowing the indexes are growing.

Likewise, Comrade Hekuran Isae was among the working people of the agricultural cooperative of Bushat, where he got acquainted with their work.



During his visit to the "Enver Hoxha" hydropower station in Koman he got acquainted with the successes of the builders and fitters, who over these days of the great grief aroused by the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have found forces to fulfill all the targets to commission the hydropower station ahead of the time limit. Addressing the workers and cadres of the hydropower station, Comrade Hekuran Isai said among the other things:

The party has been and is very satisfied with our heroic work as builders.

You, the working people of the Koman hydropower station have the great honour to bear the name of Comrade Enver Hoxha. You, not only bear his name, but through your results you have raised it higher and higher. It is the ideas of Comrade Enver on electrification that made us build such giants as Fierza, Koman, etc.

There is no other country in the world with the dimensions of our country and without taking credits that has built such hydropower stations as Fierza, Koman. In other countries in order to build such a project as that of Koman several firms and monopolies cooperate. While, here in our country only three simple firms cooperate: people-party-Enver.

There is no other country in the world with the dimensions of our country and without the aid of anyone that for such a short period of time pass from the grease pot in cities, from the torch in villages to the export of electric power.

It is the ideas of Comrade Enver expressed in the decisions of the party that made possible such a great progress in vital branches of energetics for our economy, branches which is linked with the independence of the country, with the implementation of the principle of self-reliance.

At that time we did not have much electric power, but Comrade Enver set forth the idea of the complete electrification of our countryside. We have fought together, he said. The city must share this electric power with the countryside and the countryside within a short period of time burned the torches and broke the grease pots.

The construction of hydropower stations in our country has become not only a source of generating electric power, but is also a source of training the cadres. In fact, the great projects in our country have been turned into universities of work.

The ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha on electric power are reflected in our five year plans. This chapter is another contribution of Comrade Enver to the socialist construction.

It is a great honour, comrades, to work in such a revolutionary collective, that bears such a respected name. Your achievements show that you will conclude the project in time and illuminate the country more and Comrade Enver loved light too much.



Likewise, Comrde Hekuran Isai met with cadres of the party and state power in the District of Lezhe, where he was told of the work of the communists, cadres, and working people to apply the instructions of the party and Comrade Enver to overfulfill the tasks, turning the grief into strength.

#### Bekteshi in Kukes

AU220837 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 22 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 22 Apr (ATA)--These days the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-minister of the Council of Ministers Comrade Besnik Bekteshi was in the District of Kukes. In the meetings organized with cadres of the organs of the party and power and the economy in the district Comrade Besnik Bekteshi was informed of the achievements of the working people of Kukes, their mobilizing work to turn into strength the grief caused by the death of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha. This mobilizing spirit is characteristic also of the working people of the agricultural enterprise of Kruma and of the miners of and working people of the chrome factory in Kalimash with whom Comrade Besnik Bekteshi met these days. In the planning sector of the agricultural enterprise of Kruma, the working people pledged that they will complete the maize sowing on April 28, creating good basis for high yields in this plant. The same spirit of mobilization is noticed also on the other fronts to realize in time and with quality the seasonal tasks. The production of the chrome concentrate and the tasks of mining work have been realized in the mine of Kalimash. Comrade Besnik Bekteshi congratulated the working people on these achievements and instructed that this mobilizing spirit should be enhanced in order to find new ways for fresh successes. The realization of all the planned indexes in the field of economy is an expression of the determination to keep the pledge taken before Comrade Enver to make Albania more beautiful and prosperous.

#### Myftiu in Gjirokaster, Sarande

AU240844 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 24 Apr (ATA)--Comrade Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers was in the districts of Gjirokaster and Sarande these days.

In Gjirokaster he met with the inhabitants of Palorto city quarter and paid a visit to the house where the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha was born, passed his childhood and a part of his youth time. Likewise, he placed a bunch of flowers on his bust at the entry of the city in token of profound honour and veneration for the glorious deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. At the meeting organized with cadres of the party, power and economy in the district, Comrade Manush Myftiu spoke of the life and glorious deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha, a deed which will remain immortal and will always be a source of inspiration for the further progress and prosperity of our socialist homeland.

Comrade Manush Myftiu also attended the meeting of the bureau of the district party committee and that of the executive committee of the district peoples council. He went to the agricultural cooperative of Sofratika where he got acquainted with the work done to apply the very precious instructions that Comrade Enver gave to the people of Dropulli in his March 22, 1978 meeting in Graphs. Comrade Manush Myftiu spoke to the cadres of the great love and special care of Comrade Enver of the people of the minority.

Comrade Manush Myftiu made also a visit to the District of Saranda. At a meeting held with vanguard working people, veterans, militarymen, young boys and girls he pointed out among the other things that the motto of our triumphant march has been and is the revolutionary slogan of the party "Work and vigilance", because only in this way we will be strong, will safeguard what we have achieved and will forge ahead the brilliant deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In the example and deed of Comrade Enver we must find forces and continue the struggle which he led almost for a half a century. Comrade Manush Myftiu went to the agricultural cooperative specialized in stock raising "Fitorja e Leninizmit" in Konispol and the town of Delvine, where he met with and talked with cooperativists, workers and managers of the enterprises and sectors of production and different agricultural cooperatives. At these meetings he laid the stress on the tasks to further consolidate the unity, economy and defence of the country, to further develop education and culture, so that our homeland be always an impregnable fortress, as the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha left and wanted her.

#### Stefani in Fier, Vlore

AU240848 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 24 Apr (ATA)--Comrade Simon Stefani, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party made visits in the district of Fier these days. In a meeting with leading cadres of the organs of the party and power in the district, he was informed of the sound political and economic situation of the district, the mobilization of the working people to accomplish all the planned tasks. Speaking in the meeting, Comrade Simon Stefani expressed the profound grief caused throughout the country by the loss of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha. He laid the stress on the unbreakable unity and boundless loyalty of all the people to the immortal deed of Comrade Enver. He also instructed that this spiritual force of the masses should be turned into creative and productive energies with the aim that the plans should be completely realized.

Comrade Simon Stefani, together with the first secretary of the party committee of the district, Comrade Pali Miska, visited some sectors of production such as the "Gogo Nushi" nitrate ammonium plant, the third sector of the oil extracting enterprise in Patos, the petroleum processing plant in Ballsh, etc. He dwelt on the intensification of the scientific and technological work in these sectors in order that the quantity and diversity of chemical products increase, the extraction of oil and its by-products grow.

The oilmen and other working people voiced their readiness that with the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha in the mind and heart they will increase the efficiency of work and will realize all the tasks of the last year of the Seventh Five-year Plan.

Moreover Comrade Simon Stefani went to the District of Vlore where he met and talked with workers, cooperativists, specialists and cadres of different sectors. In a meeting organized with the leading cadres of the party, power, economy and mass organizations in the district, the first secretary of the party committee of the district Enver Halili and other cadres informed him of the main directions of the work of the party organization in the district and its levers, of the latest achievements.

After speaking of the life and brilliant deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha, his life-giving lessons instilled in the mind and heart of the party and people, Comrade Simon Stefani underlined that the grave and legitimate grief should be turned into a vigorous strength for the realization of all the tasks set by the party.

Over his stay in that district Comrade Simon Stefani paid visits to the village Tragjas, to the agricultural enterprise of Kota, in Drashovice, the electric bulb factory, etc, where workers, cooperativists, communists and cadres expressed their determination to march always on the correct road of the party, to apply loyally the valuable teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

#### Murra in Korce, Pogradec, Kolonje

AU240837 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 24 Apr (ATA)--The alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of the people's defence, Comrade Prokop Murra visited the districts of Korce, Pogradec and Kolonje these days. In meetings with cadres of party and state organs and of mass organizations he got acquainted with the achievements of the working class and cooperativist peasantry as well as with their impetus and mobilization at work in order to turn the profound grief caused by the death of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, into mobilizing force for the fulfillment of the tasks.

At a meeting with cadres of Korce District Comrade Prokop Murra stressed among others: As the party teaches us, we are turning the deep grief over the loss of the legendary communist into an inexhaustible source of energies and strength.

In this district, Comrade Prokop Murra visited also the "Il Shkurti" agricultural engineering plant, the "Draper e Cekan" textile combine, and the "Lenin's Road" agricultural cooperative in Lumalas, where along with the grief over the death of the beloved leader the workers, cadres, cooperativists, and specialists expressed also their determination to carry into life the instructions that Comrade Enver Hoxha gave them when they have had

him in their fold and to realize and overfulfill all the tasks set by the party.

Speaking in the meeting with cadres of Pogradec District Comrade Propkop Murra said that in these moments we should tighten even more our ranks round the party and its Central Committee. He stressed that the frontal realization of the tasks in every sector is an expression of the feelings of profound respect for the immortal deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In Kolonj District Comrade Prokop Murra met with cadres, specialists and cooperativists of Selenice, who have turned their grief over the death of the glorious son and outstanding leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, into strength in order to carry out the seasonal tasks within the shortest possible time.

#### Cerrava in Elbasan

AU251214 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 25 Apr (ATA)--The secretary of the CC of the party, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava was these days among the communists, workers cooperativists and veterans of the District of Elbasan. In a meeting with cadres of the party and power he was informed of the determination of the communists and the entire people of the district to turn the grief cause by the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength. To this testify the achievements of these days in industry, especially in the plants of the metallurgical combine, where over 100 tons of pig-iron, 60-70 tons of steels are given above the daily plan and those in the sectors of livestock, etc.

Comrade Vangjel Carrava went to the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, where the workers who recall the visit of Comrade Enver Hoxha in 1973, the meetings and talks with him in Tirana, expressed their grief and promised that they will turn it into a great mobilizing force to realize all the tasks. Comrade Vangjel Carrava appreciated the work made in regard with the first repairment of the blast-furnace and the achievements of this collective.

Comrade Vangjel Cerrava paid visits to the families of the patriots Ali Disha and Ram Karajozi in Shmil, where Comrade Enver Hoxha has stayed during the war, expressing their sorrow, the inhabitants of Shmil promised that they will preserve the memory of the commissar, they will work and fight as he taught them.

In the remote mountain zone of Cermenika, Librazhd District, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava met with cooperativists, cadres and specialists of the cooperatives of Zdrajsh and Floq-orenja. After congratulating them for the achievements, he instructed that the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the people of this zone should be promoted.

Comrade Vangjel Cerrava took part also in the meetings of the district staff for the spring sowing, where he was informed of the moral-political situation and the achievements.

Comrade Vangrel Cerrava was these days also among the communists cadres and cooperativists of the agricultural economies of Mashan and Sojnik in Gramsh District.

The peasants of Sojnik recall those unforgettable winter days of 1944 when Comrade Enver Hoxha passed in these zones. The cooperativists expressed their heartfelt sorrow for the great loss caused by the death of the beloved leader of the party and people, as well as their determination to turn it into strength to always implement loyalty the teaching of Comrade Enver and the tasks set by the party.

Hanku in Tropoje, Puke

AU251203 Tirana ATA in English 0940 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 25 Apr (ATA)--The member of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Rrahman Hanku met these days with workers, cooperativists, specialists and cadres in the District of Tropoje, where he got acquainted with the achievements and mobilization of the working people of this district who have turned the profound grief over the death of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength.

Comrade Rrahman Hanku went to various agricultural cooperatives of this district as well as to the quartz mine in Kernaje. In meetings held with cooperativists and miners, he stressed among others that it is the duty of every communist and all working people to work with all their forces and energies in order to carry into life the very valuable teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He talked also with cooperativists from Dragobia, who have fresh in their mind the visit that our beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, has made to Dragobia, his valuable instructions on development of agriculture, livestock and other sectors, on the further strengthening of the economy.

At the meetings with cooperativists, communists and cadres of various agricultural economies, Comrade Rrahman Hanku spoke also on the instigation of and support for the revolutionary initiatives and movements, on the strengthening of unity and sharpening of revolutionary vigilance, according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Rrahman Hanku paid also a visit to the District of Puke, where he met with cadres, cooperativists, workers, etc.

Kondi in Tepelene, Permet

AU251207 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 25 Apr 85

[Text] Tirana, 25 Apr (ATA)--The member of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Pirro Kondi was these days to the districts of Tepelene and Permet. He met with cadres of the party, power and economy of the District of Tepelene as well as with workers, specialists and communists and the miners of Memaliaj who have had the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha several times among them. Comrade Pirro Kondi congratulated the miners for the good results that they have scored in coal extraction and underlined the evaluation that Comrade Enver Hoxha has made them by naming them the bone of the working class. They must keep always aloft this evaluation by working with mobilization, to give the homeland more coal and with high quality.

Comrade Pirro Kondi went also to the "Selam Musai" agricultural cooperative of Dukaj. In talks with the cooperativists he said that important is that the very valuable instruction and advice that Comrade Enver gave them in his visit to the economy on the development on more scientific basis of livestock, for the further progress of their economy specialized in livestock, should be implemented. [Sentence as received]

Moreover, Comrade Pirro Kondi visited the District of Permet, where he met with cadres, working people, cooperative members, militarymen, etc.

CSO: 2020/111

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE WELCOMES RAPPROCHEMENT WITH SWEDEN

Lulea NORRSKENSFLAMMAN in Swedish 7 Mar 85 p 10

[Excerpts] Sweden is the last West European country not to have political dialogue with Czechoslovakia. But now we are finally on the right track.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Bodstrom's visit to Prague last fall was the turning point.

"A milestone" is what Jan Polach calls the visit to Czechoslovakia by the minister of foreign affairs.

"It sped up the improvement in our relations."

Jan Polach is involved in his country's relations with Sweden. The year 1968 and "the events in Prague," when the peace and collective security of Europe were rescued, were used by the Swedes as a pretext for scaling down relations.

Jan Polach says: "For a long time, our relations were not very good.

"The attitude by some forces in Sweden created an atmosphere in which negative assessments prevailed."

Strangely enough, the chill was especially strong during the last half of the 1970's.

"But now, during the 1980's, we have been seeing positive moves. Contacts have been intensified, even at the government level."

This means that there have been several ministerial visits between Sweden and Czechoslovakia since 1981. The ministers of agriculture, energy, education, and trade in the Palme government have visited Czechoslovakia.

"And they culminated in the official visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Bodstrom last fall. Then we saw a new attitude toward Czechoslovakia on the Swedish Government's part.

"Our assessment is that the Swedish Government is aware of the seriousness of the international situation and of the need to strengthen dialogue on the bilateral level as a result.

"This became especially true when an international stalemate was reached and Stockholm was the only point of contact.

"On the other hand, we realize that it is natural for Sweden, as the host country, to endeavor to have good relations with the participating states.

"We welcome this rapprochement, and the visit by the minister of foreign affairs in particular set a new course in our relations. That was the first high-level visit to Prague from the Swedish Government following an interruption of 18 years.

"We therefore see the visit as a milestone.

"We also see it as a good sign that Sweden invited our minister of foreign affairs to make an official visit to Stockholm."

The date of that visit is still open. Czechoslovakia's minister of foreign affairs for several years has been Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Many of NORRSKENSFLAMMAN's readers may remember Bodstrom's visit mainly because the rightwing press did not conceal its displeasure. Now we know its real aspects: those that will mean something in the long run.

Jan Polach jokes: "We had an out-and-out Swedish year here."

The results are visible: a government commission for joint research projects, an exchange of researchers between universities and schools, sports, more tourism, and intensified economic and cultural relations, for example.

Certain circles tried to use the Nobel Prize awarded to Czechoslovakia's national poet Seifertz in a way alien to his homeland and, in general, slandered culture in Czechoslovakia. Many Swedish intellectuals and politicians still stand side by side with Reagan and brush aside socialist Czechoslovakia. "But we realize," Jan Polach laughs, "that they are being vociferous chiefly so that the world will not see the real situation with 'freedoms' in their own corner.

"We are not at a loss in the face of those offensives. Nor do we have anything to hide. We have an open and freely existing cultural life that creates good products and also provides the creators of those products with an intellectual and good climate for their further development.

"But the campaign against Czechoslovakia is part of the severe ideological confrontation. We know that."

The truth is that Czechoslovakia is being used by the rightwing forces in the West. But the facade has cracked, and more and more people are realizing that what is being hit hardest by the campaign is not socialism but the tradition of humanistic struggle in the West. It takes sensible thoughts away from people, puts blinders on their eyes and gags on their mouths, and paralyzes their pens. So it is a question of democracy for our own people, not for others.



Jan Polach continues; "And in the economic area, trade between our countries is showing an upward trend.

"We are now seeking new forms of economic cooperation. There are currently 35 specific projects whose implementation we are discussing. The crucial question is how we can put a new dynamic relation into our relations."

What "a new dynamic" means specifically is the establishment of a new trade agreement. The existing agreement dates from 1977 and has been renewed automatically since then, but it has certain limitations, chiefly as regards Czechoslovakia's exports to Sweden. Prague expects "something to happen" in the fall of 1985.

"Sweden is our eighth largest trading partner in West Europe. There is room for growth."

Polach also says that the first actual document on Swedish-Czechoslovak relations is currently being compiled by the Swedish Institute.

"During Bodstrom's visit, both ministers of foreign affairs noted that our countries have a responsibility to reduce tension in Europe. Our relations will serve that purpose.

"Naturally, we are familiar with the Swedish Government's attitude in the international arena. We support the corridor proposal and the nuclear-free zone in the Nordic region.

"We also noted that it was important to develop political dialogue. We will therefore hold regular political consultations between our Ministries of Foreign Affairs."

Jan Polach concluded by saying: "One step in that direction will be the visit to Prague early in March by a delegation headed by the speaker of the Swedish Parliament."

11798

CSO: 3650/230

17 May 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## ALLEGED RFE ATTACK ON MASARYK PUBLICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Gerloch: "Something To Think About"]

[Text] Recently the notorious Munich radio station carried the review of a new book on T. G. Masaryk. It was published by the equally disreputable West German "scientific" institution, Collegium Carolinum, by one E. Schmidtova.

This should not have been anything unusual. It is not surprising that this American station has considered it its duty through the years to report on this well known personality of Czech bourgeois policies. But now in Munich it is claiming that Masaryk really was no statesman, that his speeches in the Vienna parliament were general, abstract, that they did not show how prescribed goals were to be attained and that they were ineffective. And that his concept of democracy had nothing in common with "modern pluralistic democracy..."

Nor was there anything more illustrious about his theoretical work on the Czech philosophy of history or his books, "The Czech Question," "Our Current Crisis," "Jan Hus" and "Havlicek." As the Munich station has now ascertained, these works were all absolutely subjectivistic because Masaryk "fitted into his preconceived philosophic-historical framework whatever suited him from Hussitism, the Czech Brethren, from Palacky, Havlicek..." And allegedly they had come under criticism even earlier and the person who criticized them "most profoundly was the historian Josef Pekar."

Who was Pekar? A reactionary historian for whom Hussitism pointed not toward modern times but back to the Middle Ages and Lipany was "the good fortune of the nation" whose heroes were not Zizka but adventurers like Valdstejn [Wallenstein] and Bedrich Schwarzenberg. While Masaryk in his fashion, that is, idealistically, emphasizes the Hussite movement as the fount of national traditions, Pekar sees the most glorious period of our history as the post-Bila Hora [White Mountain] era, the time of the bitterest class, nationality and religious oppression.

And so, of all of Masaryk's literary output, only two books have found favor in the eyes of the American radio--The Social Question and Russia and Europe. Let us add that they are no less subjectivistic but are directed against Marxism and the Russian Revolution and that is obviously their "value" today.

However, Masaryk's pupil and collaborator, Edvard Benes, fared even worse. He was denied even the critical attribute which allegedly motivated Masaryk, that is, an "ethical or moral dimension." He allegedly became the victim of his capitulation in 1938 and also of megalomania because he believed he could "outwit not only Churchill and Roosevelt but also Stalin."

These are matters that certainly set one to thinking. Today, when imperialist propaganda agents like the above-mentioned American radio program set about supporting revanchism, supporting the "openness of the German question," when they side with any reluctance to celebrate the surrender of Hitler's Germany as a Day of Victory, then Hussitism, this liberal heritage of our history in the heart of Europe, cannot be put in the same league with revanchists and their collaborators. That is why the authors of this broadcast obviously cannot allow elevating Hussitism even in connection with T.G. Masaryk. And so, quite naturally, they fell into the arms of the reactionary Pekar.

8491

CSO: 2400/337

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STATISTICS ON NORTHERN MORAVIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Mar 85 p 3

[Article "Yesterday and Today"]

[Text] The kraj occupies 11,067.2 square kilometers and as of 1 January was inhabited by 1,948,766 persons. In 1961 the average number of inhabitants per square kilometer was 147; now there is an average of 176 per square kilometer. Only the capital city Prague has a higher comparable number of inhabitants.

Since 1975 the value of capital assets in industrial enterprises of the kraj has grown by Kcs 54.6 billion or 53.9 percent. The greatest increase was recorded in engineering, the wood-processing industry, enterprises manufacturing paper and cellulose and the electrotechnical and metal-working industries. The capital assets of agricultural plants in the kraj are worth Kcs 21 billion today.

Within the CSSR the kraj occupies a special position in the mining of hard coal and in ferrous metallurgy. Of total national production, it accounts for 87.4 percent of black coal, 67.1 percent of pig iron and 60.1 percent of raw steel. The volume of production in centrally managed industrial enterprises has increased 22.7 percent since 1975.

Together with industrial development, large-scale production in agriculture is also developing successfully. There are 100 unified agricultural cooperatives in the kraj with an average of 2,972 hectares of agricultural land and 22 state farms work an average of 6,494 hectares. Thanks to the dedicated labor of their collectives, the per hectare yield of grains increased by 70 percent since 1970, rape by 30.3 percent and potatoes 35.9 percent. While milk production averaged 2,028 liters per cow in 1961, the average milk yield in 1984 was 3,522 liters.

Together with agricultural successes, the conditions of people's lives have improved. Since 1945 more than 400,000 new apartments have been built and their quality is increasingly better.

The cultural opportunities of the people have also changed substantially. Under national committee management there are 368 movie theaters, 112 public libraries with 998 branches, 2 state scientific libraries and 12 museums that organize 2,000 affairs annually.

The number of health workers has increased by 17,705 persons since 1960, or 93 percent. The network of health facilities has increased by 7 hospitals, 9 polyclinics, 13 transfusion stations and 5 plant institutions of national health were established. Health expenditures have doubled since 1960.

Part of the concern for the health of citizens and young people is the expansion of physical training and sports. More than 750 physical training units organize up to 7,000 events for the public every year with over three-quarter million participants of various ages, especially young people. Every year 50,000 to 70,000 children learn to swim.

An important part of the development of production is the systematically expanding R&D base in which 14,100 persons work, or 4,400 more than in 1970. Thanks to them, in the same period the annual returns from use of inventions increased from Kcs 33.3 million to 126.5 million and from improvement suggestions from Kcs 272.9 million to 874.4 million annually.

8491

CSO: 2400/337

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TEACHERS' DUTIES, COMPLAINTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Pavel Novak: "Teachers' Social Role"]

[Excerpts] We by no means conceal the political function of school and teachers in our socialist society because we subscribe to the principle that influencing and educating man is the highest value on the socialist scale of values. This fact obligates to the greatest responsibility all those who partake in this process. For this reason the work of pedagogues occupies one of the most prominent places in the socialist society. At the same time we lay big demands on the quality of activity of all workers who take part in any form in this important process. The personality of the pedagogue significantly affects the students, determines the development of human education and bears responsibility for the quality preparation of the young generation.

Accordingly also the social prestige of pedagogical workers increases. The pedagogue has become the key factor in the educational process. He must ceaselessly continue his own education and maintain his qualifications in accordance with the requirements of times. We ask of the teacher not only to convey knowledge, but also to contribute to the proper upbringing of his students by setting an example by his life. The society demands of him to possess a pedagogical skill corresponding to the needs of upbringing and education as spelled out in the document on further development of the Czechoslovak educational and school system. For this reason we lay great emphasis on search for talented individuals for work with children, and insist that pedagogical schools training future teachers must produce morally and politically mature graduates who will be the guarantee of successful educational care of the young generation.

A good teacher is on the lookout among the students for his successors. He tries to prepare and win them over for this career. A big test for the youngsters interested in the teaching profession is concrete work with the children beginning with the guidance of "Sparks" [lowest unit of youth organization], continuing with the function of an instructor and later on the head of a group in the Pioneers' organization.

We have not succeeded so far in winning over more boys for the demanding teachers' profession. They constitute only 36 percent of students already at the gymnasium and many of them intend to acquire technical education or study

other necessary disciplines. Here is where the problem of feminization of the teachers' profession begins. However, there are okreses already today which are not indifferent to the existing situation. Responsible workers and officials are sparing no pains to win over talented boys for the teachers' profession, talk to them and create good conditions for them.

Our entire socialist society gradually creates favorable conditions for itself. A proof of this is also the recent salary revision for selected categories of pedagogical workers which represents an annual total of Kcs 390 million for the CSSR. Better conditions were thus created for employment of young, capable, talented pedagogues already during the first years of their teaching practice. It is a step also toward the elimination of disproportions between the remuneration of young workers in the schools sector and college graduates active particularly in the production sector.

Despite all this effort it happens, however, that some teachers leave their profession for good--some of them because they have chosen this career by mistake and do not entertain a profound, genuine relationship to the childrens' education. We are not sorry to lose them. But it is just too bad if, for example because of unpleasant relations in the teachers' collectives to which nobody paid attention for many years, good teachers who are known to discharge their duties honorably leave the school system. If the trade union organization or supervisory school organ say nothing in such instances, the party organization which knows the situation best should not keep silent. Only a unified pedagogical collective can achieve outstanding results in educational work, combat mediocrity in its ranks and earn a good reputation for its school in the public at large.

The teachers occasionally complain that sometimes even simple thanks or other moral appreciation for extraordinary work are not expressed. If you visit a factory, you will find the photographs of the best workers on the board of honor. You will find nothing like that in schools as if outstanding workers would not exist there. How many students for example know that their class master (tridni) bears the title Meritorious Teacher or now and when the students learn about the traditions of their school?

The school administration undoubtedly promotes genuine interest in the continuous improvement of the Czechoslovak educational and school system. In sharp contrast to this effort, however, are the complaints of teachers mainly at vocational high schools (stredni odborne skoly) that their comments remain unanswered by the superior organs. It will be therefore necessary for the ministries of education to consistently check in the institutions supervised by them what happens with the pedagogues' comments. People's trust should not be put in jeopardy anywhere. On the contrary, it is imperative to make use of their experiences and to solve their problems.

10501

CSO: 2400/336

17 May 1985

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## ATTENTION TO CITIZENS' CRITICISM URGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 85 p 1

[Excerpts] As do state organizations, the country's Central Committee and even regional committees receive many letters from citizens pointing out important shortcomings in the work of the national committees and the enterprises and facilities managed by them. After verification, more than half of the criticisms received in the past year proved to be fully justified.

What do they concern? Foremost, shortcomings in commerce; an insufficient standard and lack of promptness of services performed for money; shortcomings in transportation, especially in travel conditions; and in the management of state and cooperative apartments; also the low standard of administrative work by government bodies, officials and employees of the national committees; the violation of economic and state discipline; inadequate protection of property under socialist ownership; and yet other important questions. It certainly cannot be overlooked that, for instance, in 1983, 57% of the complaints received about shortcomings in commerce and the service sector were justified, and that, out of a total 14,500 complaints, justification was found for nearly a full 65% of the critical letters dealing with the most varied shortcomings in the maintenance and repair of housing stock. This trend was continued last year.

Especially of moment are justified reports on employees who have an apathetic and haughty attitude towards people and their needs, or who abuse their positions, illegally manipulating property and money in order to enrich themselves. Such cases can only be resolved by severe disciplinary action at work. If such acts are committed by communists, they are judged uncompromisingly according to party statutes by party bodies and organizations. Every watered down resolution, all covering up for friends, and looking the other way may seriously weaken the trust of citizens.

Party and state regional and district organizations regularly concern themselves with the reasons for these shortcomings. Their investigations have shown that some officials in the national committees have not yet fully absorbed the demands of laws or pertinent party documents and court rulings urging constant struggle against the violation of principles of socialist legality and discipline.



When considering work with enterprises and citizens' criticisms, employees of some national committees think only of complaints. They weigh them seriously, carefully record them and attempt--unfortunately, at times formally--to answer them within the established time frame. The meaning of this important work is lost in such administrative "handling."

Criticisms and complaints are, however, only a limited, and not the determining, portion of the correspondence which citizens send to their representative bodies. Therefore, a serious mistake is being made in those places where all other instigations, suggestions and criticisms from citizens are taken lightly and their importance underestimated. In such communications people are often reasoning from their accumulated experiences, operating on the collective "sense" of the rest of the citizenry. Their suggestions thus enrich the knowledge of elected bodies, officials, employees and cadres of the national committees.

Written work connected with the handling of criticisms and complaints would disappear altogether if there was greater and more sensitive work with people, if every convenient situation were exploited and not only mass political actions. But this requires that officials and employees not only have a good mastery of the complex professional problems involved in the workings of the national committees, but that they be also good political workers.

Officials and representatives can forestall many problems and criticisms with conscientious work in their electoral districts, and by being remaining in close contact with citizens and promptly reacting to their suggestions.

There are well-known cases in which what is at first a seemingly rather unimportant criticism or complaint gradually exceeds the scope of a locality, district, and later even kraj, and with which scores of employees are involved writing hundreds of pages of memorandums. Individual members of the state administration are thus occupied with each other. And yet very little is needed: to establish at the very outset the substance of the matter or dispute for those whom it directly concerns. This is especially essential when citizens are incorrect, when they demand something which at the given time and place is not in the national committee's actual power to bring about. It should not be feared to say this openly to people. After all, the majority of them are able to distinguish general societal demands from narrow individual ones.

12290

CSO: 2400/355

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# MANAGERS CRITICIZED FOR LACK OF VIGILANCE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Karel Walter: "What People Are Talking About"]

[Text] At a recent press conference, representatives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic stated that the SNB [National Security Corps] accounted for approximately 87 percent of economic criminal acts which were uncovered. What is it that emanates from this fact? That many leading and responsible economic workers, as well as control and inspection personnel do not properly fulfill their obligations to report suspicious criminal acts and misdemeanors to organs of the SNB and to the prosecutor's office. They continue to fail to evaluate in full measure the social seriousness of violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality and discipline.

Similar conclusions were also reached by representatives of the Czech National Council who, in the constitutional committee, were debating the level of fulfillment of measures in the fight against unauthorized enrichment and the recovery of property and property benefits derived from dishonest sources.

It is impossible to suppose that enterprises would not have known much sooner about a number of cases included in the above 87 percent than the time they were uncovered by the SNB. Experience gathered during the investigations shows that, frequently, only inexcusable complacency, the underevaluation of phenomena which signal that something is wrong, the use of excuses and forgiveness led to the persistence and repetition of criminal activity. Many economic officials have thus far not realized that through shortsighted efforts to cover up wrongdoings--as though they were defending the "honor of the enterprise," they create serious damage in the consciousness of the employees. Both those who are beginning to doubt that honesty would get them anywhere, as well as those who are already improving their own lots from the common good without being punished.

No director, economic worker, no inspector is granted the right by the law or any other regulation to settle illegal activities which have the factual appearance of a criminal act or excess in accordance with his own considerations. Our state has specialized qualified individuals to do so.

Some responsible workers explain their dilatory approach, their lenient evaluation of negative phenomena by claiming a lack of legal knowledge pertaining to the factual essentials of economic criminal acts. Such excuses of their own errors cannot be accepted. The reporting obligation extends to every more serious illegal action which damages or threatens the national economy and its development, in as far as it occurred in the organization or its component. It is sufficient if there is only a suspicion of a criminal act or misdemeanor. People entrusted with economic functions and inspection activities do have a corresponding education. Certainly they then can manage to judge that which is an antisocial act.

That is why, in the overwhelming majority of cases, motives for violating the reporting obligation are not based on ignorance or lack of knowledge. They are the result of lackadaisical irresponsible attitudes toward property in socialist ownership, a narrow departmental and local concept regarding the missions of socialist development, but also as a result of protectionism and efforts to attain personal advantage without regard to any material or moral damage caused.

It will be singularly correct, just and beneficial if, in the event of proven failure to fulfill the reporting obligation, those who by their position and function neglect this inseparable component of direction and inspection will more consistently carry their disciplinary, and in some cases even criminal responsibility for such omissions.

5911

CSO: 2400/358

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# CONTACTLESS FUSE FOR MORE EFFECTIVE ARTILLERY VIEWED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 3, 1985 pp 4-5

[Article by Eng Miroslav Blonar: "Contactless Fuses--Electronics Improves the Combat Effectiveness of Field Artillery"]

[Text] One of the key features of the contemporary development of R&D is the rapid expansion of electronics. Its practical application also helps to modernize military armaments. Electronic elements make it possible to improve the combat effectiveness of military armaments, particularly fire power. This is achieved not only through complex and expensive weapons systems, but through offering the possibility for improving the accuracy of fire and the effects of projectiles on the target by using new types of ammunition or its parts.

R&D is endeavoring to increase the effects of artillery fragmentation shells against live force and weakly armored equipment. It will improve the combat effectiveness of this type of armament. One of the approaches leading to attainment of a greater effect of a projectile delivered on a target is enhancing its function prior to its meeting the target. In actual practice this calls for the projectile's explosion to occur at a certain height above the target. The effects of the height of an above-ground explosion become manifested in the following way:

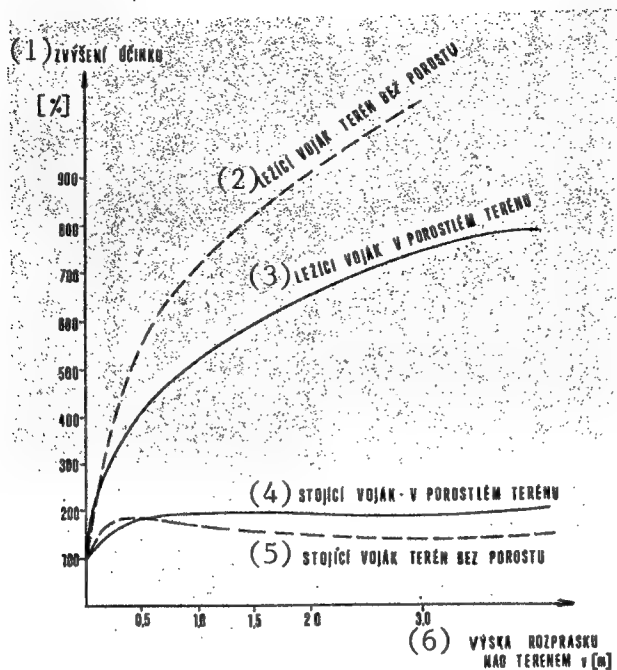
--effects against unprotected live force are increased through an above-ground explosion at a height as little as 0.5 to 1 m;

--effects against covered live force (in trenches, behind natural obstacles) are increased through an explosion at a height in excess of 1 m;

--effects against vehicles and thinly armored equipment (weak armor of combat equipment--vehicles--in their upper part) increase through an explosion at a height of 2 to 15 m.

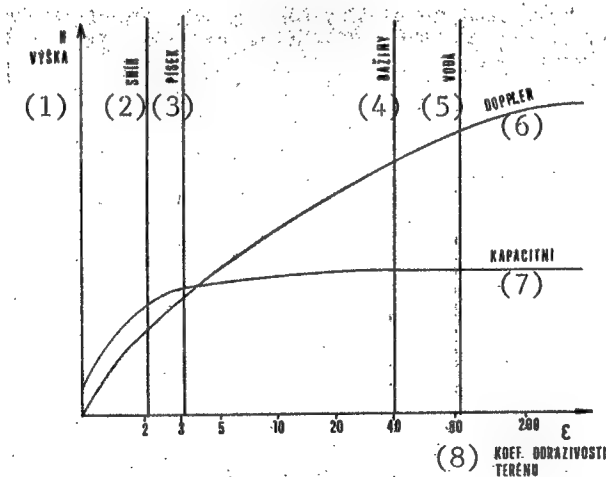
The effects against live force in dependence on the terrain are shown in Graph 1. The listed data have generall validity. In addition to the height of explosion, the actual increase in effects also depends on the type of projectile, its caliber and charge composition, properties of the terrain, etc.

Effects of the terrain's surface are shown in Graph 2.



Graph 1. Fragmentation effects

Key: 1. Effect increase 4. Soldier standing in vegetated terrain  
2. Soldier lying in open terrain 5. Soldier standing in open terrain  
3. Soldier lying in vegetated terrain 6. Height of burst above terrain



Graph 2. Dependence of the height of explosion on the terrain

Key: 1. Height 5. Water  
2. Snow 6. Doppler  
3. Sand 7. Capacity  
4. Swamp 8. Coefficient of terrain reflectivity

To provide for contactless explosion of the projectile, it must be equipped with a fuse the function of which is not dependent on meeting an obstacle. In the past such tasks made use of timing fuses for which the envisioned point of explosion was provided by setting of its functioning time (watch mechanism or a pyrotechnical delay system). This method of initiation was considerably inaccurate and that is why ammunition designers started to orient their attention more and more toward electronic systems. Electronic contactless fuses were first introduced into military armaments as early as the 1950's and 1960's. The parts base did not create in those years a prerequisite for their wider application in field artillery ammunition. Contactless fuses were used primarily in antiaircraft devices and aerial bombs. It was particularly the size of the parts that constituted the greatest obstacle. It was not until the development of microelectronics, integrated circuits, miniaturization of the parts base, new materials and sources of electric current, etc. that a decisive step could be made in development of the design and practical application of electronic artillery fuses.

To provide for the mentioned function, contemporary contactless electronic fuses (further CF) use essentially two principles in various modifications, specifically the transceiver system (radio fuse) or change in capacity (capacity fuse).

A radio fuse (RF) operates on the principle of radiation of electromagnetic waves of high frequency and reception of energy reflected from the target. It processes the electromagnetic waves reflected from the target and provides for the projectile's explosion by transfer of amplified low-frequency voltage to the executive elements. From the preceding brief description follow the general and main parts of a radio CF. They are the antenna, transmitter, receiver, amplifier, terminal stage and power source.

Individual electronic circuits (blocks) provide for a whole series of various functions such as, e.g., resistance against passive and active jamming, an electric fuse for the igniter, the impact (contact) function, etc.

In addition to its basic electronic blocks, each CF comes also equipped with mechanical or electromechanical parts such as, e.g., safety and ignition mechanism, distance controlled safety release mechanism, impact mechanism, etc.

The key part of a RF is a transceiver. Its function is to transmit high-frequency electromagnetic waves into the space around the flying projectile. The waves reflected from the target and intercepted by an the antenna are fed to the receiver input. The frequency of a reflected signal differs from that of a transmitted signal. This change in frequency is caused by movement of the projectile against the reflected electromagnetic waves (Doppler's principle). Both signals interfere at the receiver input and at the output stage their difference appears in the form of low-frequency voltage that is processed in the corresponding parts of the fuse.

Capacity fuses (KF) make use of the electrostatic field generated around the

projectile and its changes in the trajectory of the projectile in close vicinity of the target. The electrostatic field forms a dipole which usually forms the body of the projectile and the fuse antenna insulated from the body of the projectile. When the flying projectile approaches the target, the electrostatic field becomes deformed and this deformation causes changes in the electric charge distribution. The contactless function of the thus designed fuses uses this change in the potentials of the electric charge caused by deformation of the electrostatic field. The basic parts of these fuses are an antenna and an electronic block. In addition to electronic parts, the fuse is formed by the requisite mechanical and pyrotechnical components, such as safety fuses, an initiator and a detonator.

The key advantages offered by both principles used by CF over timing and impact fuses can be characterized as follows:

- a) their use increases in the given design of a fragmentation or fragmentation-blasting projectile the fragmentation effect on the target by 2 to 7 times,
- b) increased fragmentation effect reduces the planned need for ammunition for destruction of the target,
- c) there is no need for demanding manipulation with the fuses prior to firing (as compared to timing fuses) and the cadence of firing is increased (important in the case of AA devices).

The advantage offered by RF over KF is the possibility for designing the fuse for various heights of above-ground explosions (2 various altitudes in even a single fuse). The initiation height of KF is for all practical purposes constant and is approximately 1 m away from the target. However, RF are of a more complex design which accounts for their higher price. Despite the complexity of their design and their higher price, the prevalent factor is the basic advantage offered by RF, namely facilitating explosions at a higher altitude above the target ( $H_{opt} = 3$  to 6 m). That is main reason why more attention is devoted to constant development of RF while KF are becoming a transitory (or supplementary) type between mechanical impact and radio CF.

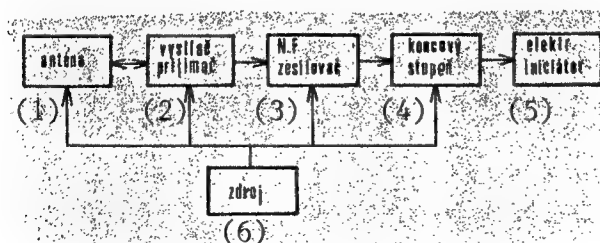


Figure 1. RF layout

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Key: 1. Antenna            | 4. Terminal stage     |
| 2. Transceiver             | 5. Electric initiator |
| 3. Low-frequency amplifier | 6. Power source       |

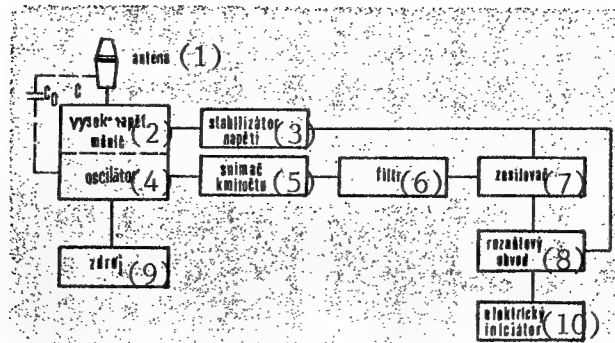


Figure 2. Functional outline of KF

- |      |                           |                        |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Key: | 1. Antenna                | 6. Filter              |
|      | 2. High-voltage converter | 7. Amplifier           |
|      | 3. Voltage stabilizer     | 8. Ignition circuit    |
|      | 4. Oscillator             | 9. Power source        |
|      | 5. Frequency scanner      | 10. Electric initiator |

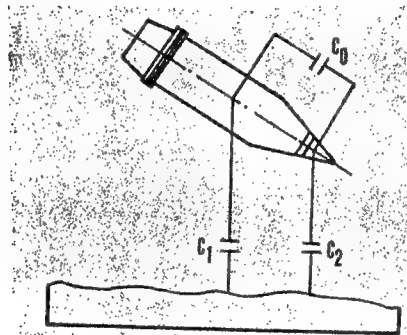


Figure 3. KF layout



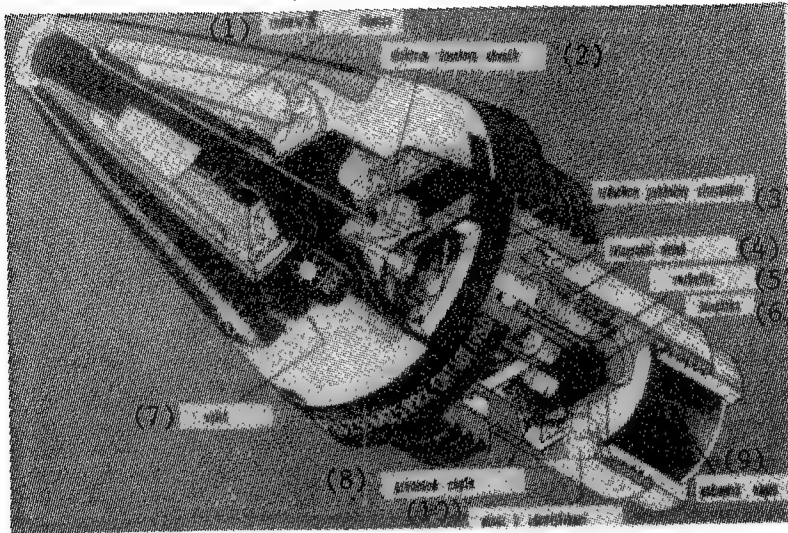


Figure 4. M-25 Fuse

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| Key: 1. Radio head         | 6. [Illegible--soupatko? = slide valve] |
| 2. Electronic circuits set | 7. Selector                             |
| 3. Air-powered alternator  | 8. [Illegible--portable charge?]        |
| 4. Integrating circuit     | 9. [Illegible]                          |
| 5. Detonator               | 10. [Illegible--identification port?]   |

RF are used in the armament of Western armies. For the sake of illustration we list the most commonly used types.

M 732 fuse (USA). It is intended for rotary artillery projectiles of 105, 155 and 203 mm caliber. Its power source is an electrochemical battery. It has an adjustable selection of impact or contactless function. Explosion in contactless function occurs at a height of 3 to 5 m.

M 734 fuse (USA). Four functions can be selected: instant impact (fragmentation effect), delayed impact (blasting effect), contactless at low height and contactless at a higher altitude. It is intended for artillery mines of 60 and 81 mm caliber. Their source of electric energy is a turbogenerator.

NVT fuses (Norway). Used by armies of all European NATO countries. Produced in modifications for artillery mines (81 and 120 mm) and artillery shells of 105 through 155 mm caliber. They have two basic functions--impact and contactless (at constant height depending on the sensitivity set by the producer). Their source of electric energy is a turbogenerator.

M25-YANAI fuse (Israel). Intended for artillery mines of 81 through 106 mm caliber. It has two functions--impact and contactless (at a height of 2 to 12 m). A turbogenerator is used as its power source.

FFV 574 fuse (Sweden). It is a representative of the capacity CF. It is used in artillery shells of 75 through 155 mm caliber. The height of explosion above the terrain is approximately 1 m. If the contactless function fails, the impact mechanism takes over. Its source of energy is a battery which is activated during firing. This outline of radio CF lists the basic types used in the armies of NATO countries and serves for orientation purposes. The armies of socialist countries, led by the military and political necessity of modernization, also have at their disposal these contemporary elements of artillery ammunition with wide potential applications. It can be expected that development of new types will use constantly newer findings made in electronics.

8204

CSO: 2400/326

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## MEASURING LOCATION WITH KINOTHEODOLITE DISCUSSED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 3, 1985 pp 8-9

[Article by Colonel Eng Antonin Kusbach: "Kinotheodolites--Electronics in the Service of Metrology"]

[Text] Kinotheodolites are optomechanical instruments facilitating tracking of a moving object and its synchronous photographing from two or more points. Angular coordinates are recorded on each photograph which, after analysis of the photographs, make it possible to compute the spatial coordinates of the measured object in dependence on time. Individual types of kinotheodolite sets include additional supplementary systems facilitating fast homing guidance of theodolites on the measured object, mutual interconnection of measuring points and the control point, processing and analysis of the film and computation of the coordinates of the measured object, its speed, acceleration and other data.

Kinotheodolites were used in the past for assessing the accuracy of antiaircraft fire, both for measuring the distance of grenade bursts from the target in the case of AA cannons of larger calibers and for measuring the distance of the trajectory of projectiles from the target in the case of small-caliber AA cannons. Using two pairs of theodolites it was possible to assess even the so-called defilade or mirror fire when the AA cannon fired to the opposite side or in reflex to the direction of the target's flight path. With the introduction of AA missiles in the late 1950's kinotheodolites lost their originally intended use, but became an indispensable means for external measurements in the testing of rockets and other objects, e.g., aircraft, guided missiles bombs, etc.

Kinotheodolite measurements are of particular importance in testing of guided missiles when it is necessary to analyze the trajectory of the projectile in relation to control commands. Analyzed data make it possible to determine whether the precision of control and guidance meets the specified technical conditions. Kinotheodolites are in some cases the only means for measuring selected parameters in weapons and ammunition testing.

Measuring by kinotheodolites uses the method of cross bearings in which two instruments perform synchronous filming and keep a record of angular coordinates of the measured object from two points. The distance between these points,

measured in advance, constitutes the measuring base (Figure 1). As a rule, each theodolite is operated by a two-man crew. One member aims the instrument horizontally and the other vertically by using the direction-finding telescopes and motor drive controls to intercept the object to be measured in space, and a suitable radar is used for guiding the kinotheodolite's servosystems. Photographing is controlled from the control center which provides for starting and stopping cameras in the kinotheodolites, the accuracy of their synchronization, recording of feedback reports from individual instruments and other functions.

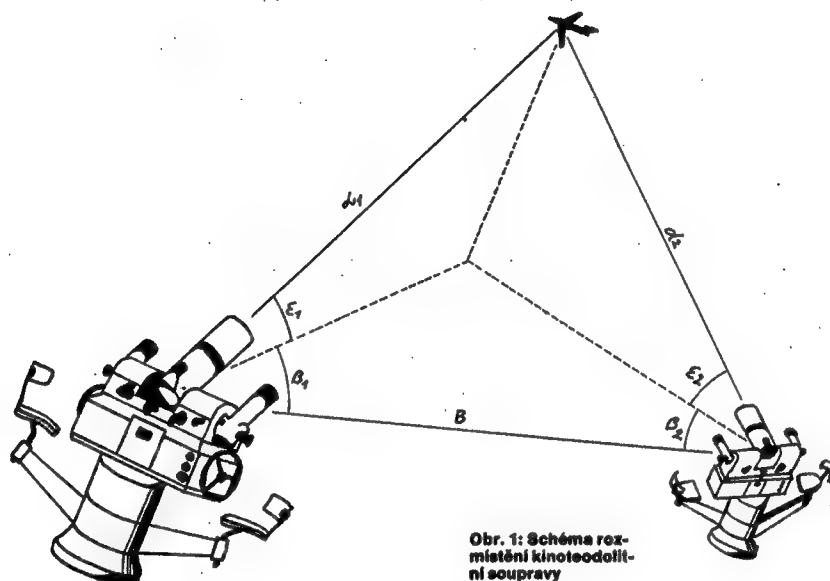


Figure 1. Layout of the deployment of a set of kinotheodolites

Each photograph shows the measured object, the cross staff, angular coordinates of the kinotheodolite's orientation in direction and altitude and other auxiliary data, e.g., number of the photograph, number of the instrument, etc. (Figure 2).

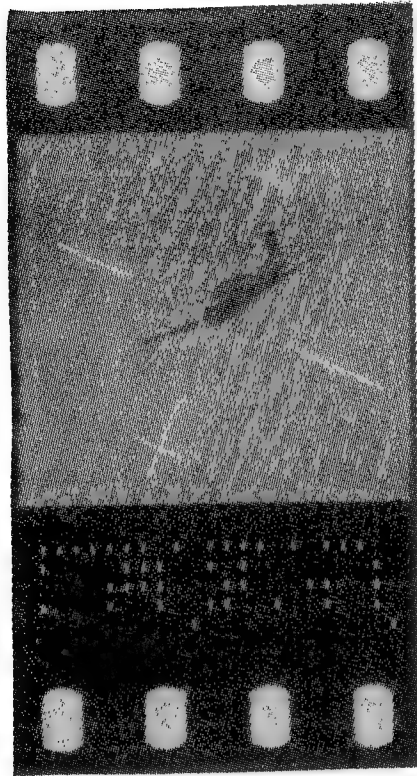


Figure 2. Kinotheodolite photo with coded data

Angular coordinates are shown in analog or digital form, in newer instruments they are coded. After the film is developed, each photograph is analyzed on a coordinate reader. If the data in the photo are coded, the film can be analyzed with a semiautomatic readout device. The data read out from the photo are angular coordinates of the kinotheodolite orientation, rectangular deviations of the cross staff from the measured object and other auxiliary data. Data from photographs taken by two kinotheodolites at the same instance are used for computation of the rectangular coordinates of the path of the flying object, its speed and other data. The computation is done by an automatic computer with digital and graphic output.

After 1945 the CSLA used kinotheodolites of the type KTS Askania produced (also on our territory) during World War II by the Askania Werke Berlin. Czechoslovak industrial specialists developed in the 1950's a mobile set for control of AA fire, constituted by two pairs of kinotheodolites on a four-wheel chassis (Figure 3). This set was used for measurements during the testing of guided missiles, later it was replaced by the Soviet type KFT 10/20 kinotheodolites.

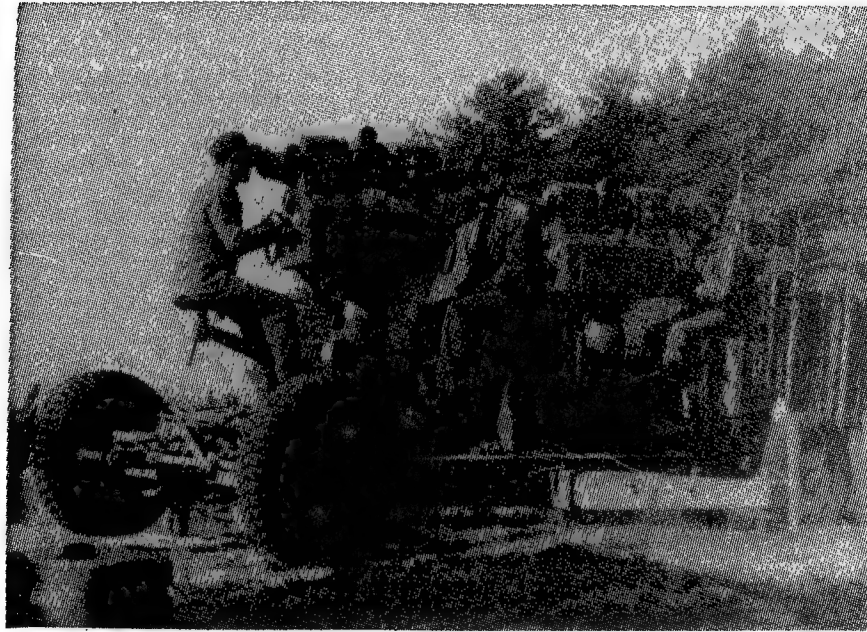


Figure 3. Kinotheodolites developed and produced in the CSSR

Development of electronics also affected the design of newer types of kinotheodolites. One of the modern types is the EOTS-F (Electronic Optical Tracking System Model F) kinotheodolite made by the Swiss Contraves company (Figure 4).

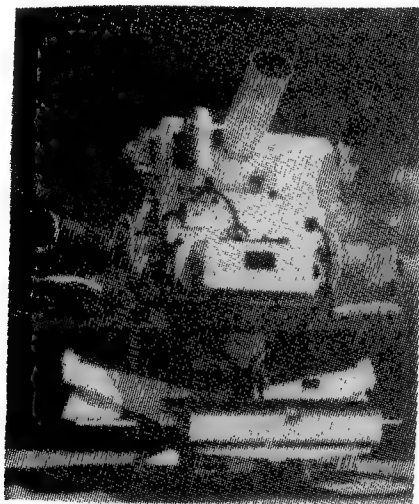


Figure 4. Contraves EOTS-F Kinotheodolite

also used in some countries of the socialist community. The set includes a command station, two kinotheodolite stations, an AFB 2 semiautomatic device for film readout, an automatic computer, a radar and other auxiliary equipment. The command station controls the kinotheodolites' operation and provides for synchronized run of their cameras. Wireless communication is used between stations, but they can also be interconnected by cables. The components of the

command station include a transceiver and a uniform time system pulse generator. A kinotheodolite station is formed by the kinotheodolite itself, a block of electronic circuits, a transceiver, a power feed and distribution unit and an indicator of radar guidance. The AFB 2 semiautomatic device for film readout and the automatic computer can be located outside the testing area.

#### Key technical specifications of the EOTS-F Kinotheodolite

Maximum target tracking speed	30°/s
Maximum acceleration in target tracking	60°/s
Range of horizontal displacement	unlimited
Range of vertical displacement	-5° to +185°
Kinotheodolite camera:	
Focal length	1,500 or 3,000 mm
Diameter	190 mm
Relative lens speed	1:8 or 1:16
Focusing	1,000 mm to infinity
Film width	35 mm
Film type	negative, perforated
Picture-taking rate	5, 10, 20 or 30 pictures/s
Film length in cassette	up to 120 m
Picture dimensions	18 x 16 mm
Direction finding telescope:	
Diameter	30 or 100 mm
Magnification	4x or 20x
Viewing field	12.5 or 3.5
Operational temperature range	-30°C to +50°C
Storage temperature range	-45°C to +70°C
Power input	1.5 kVA
Feed voltage	110, 120, 127, 208, 220 or 240 V at 50 to 60 Hz

8204

CSO: 2400/326

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REINFORCED COVERINGS MADE OF SPECIAL FOIL

Prague ATOM in Czech No 3, 1985 pp 22-23

[Article by Eng Vaclav Volsik: "Reinforced Coverings Made of Special Foil--  
New Method for Long-Term Storage of Armaments"]

[Text] Long-term storage under varying climatic conditions exposes military equipment to a strong corrosion and climatic stress. This calls for high demands on protection against such stress while maintaining combat readiness and reliability of armaments throughout their storage period. The requirements of protective systems are high. They must provide for least labor-intensive and least costly storage, protective function for the entire period of storage at low economic demands, adequate all-purpose application and easy maintenance as well as restoration under troop conditions. The complexity and demands on time and materials of the methods of armament storage in use are constituted by their differing from the above criteria particularly in the use of unstable operational conservation means and an extensive assortment of protective covers, considerable demands for equipment and armaments for use in combat and the need for frequent reconsevation, technical care, packing and control.

The CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army] has by now devised methods which fully meet the above listed key requirements for protective storage systems, or approximate them most closely in an economically justified measure. The methods and means of long-term storage make it possible to store a wide assortment of armaments under any storage conditions in troop units. The overall duration of protection of armaments against climatic effect is given by the protective efficiency of the employed means and methods of protection.

Conservation means employed and their protective efficiency

<u>Conservation material</u>	<u>Item protected (e.g.)</u>	<u>Duration of protection</u>
REVAX 30	artillery pieces, metal surfaces	10 years
KONKOR 103	bore holes	5 years
KONKOR 101	infantry weapons	3 years
VIK vaporizing corrosion inhibitor	optical equipment	5 years
Foil materials and desiccants	combined sets	6 years



Thus, protection of equipment in the CSLA is provided by wax and oil type conservation means with addition of corrosion inhibitors (REVAX 30, KONKOR 101, KONKOR 103). Another protection against corrosion attack are methods of static air drying by means of desiccants and subsequent hermetic sealing of the protected spaces. The advantage offered by these methods can be seen in the fact that equipment protected by conservation wax is ready for immediate use in combat in a temperature range of  $-40^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $+50^{\circ}\text{C}$  without deconservation while the conservation wax offers high protective efficiency. Conservation is done by simple methods that can be easily performed at troop level and their protective efficiency guarantees long-term shortage of equipment.

An integral part of the overall system of long-term storage of equipment is constituted by covering materials. They are primarily intended to reduce or prevent access to active corrosion agents in the atmosphere to the metal surface of equipment. The advantage offered by the new covering materials is transition of the original passive, mechanical protection of the cover to a qualitatively higher stage of active protection against corrosion. The means used herein are vaporizing corrosion inhibitors, methods for preparation and application of individual covers and covering systems as are, e.g., contractible covering systems using various plastic foils, the methods PICK-PACK, SKIN-PACK and use of ductile plastic foils. The CSLA uses for this purpose covering materials containing vaporizing corrosion inhibitors of the types POLYKOR, SVIK-UNI S, laminated papers BARKIER, TAPATEN, foil materials of the GRANOTEN type, reinforced foils of the FOLTEX, PEAL type or hermetically sealing foil materials of the PRAGOFIX type. A special position in the system of long-term storage of equipment is held by foil materials and their variants. The protective system employing them consists in light conservation of equipment by means of the KONKOR 101 type conservation oil, preparation of individual covers from cut sizes of the GRANOTEN type contractible foil and its heat treatment in a shrinkage device. A tough plastic cover is formed in the course of contraction around the protected product that protects it against the effects of its surroundings and can be applied as easily in the form of a cover for transportation as well as directly for equipment storage. After the individual cover is removed, the equipment is immediately combat-ready.

The SKIN-PACK method of packing is extensively used for long-term storage of spare parts for equipment. The method consists in arranging a set of replacement parts on a solid substrate formed either by cardboard or a reinforced foil, then covering the entire set of parts by a cut of contractible polyethylene foil while exposing it to the effects of heat and vacuum. This forms a combined vacuum-packed cover which thoroughly envelops the protected parts and is firmly connected to the substrate forming a simple unit easy to manipulate and store which protects the stored parts from corrosion perfectly. The method of storage in its key principals is uniform for all types of equipment. It consists in high-quality technical treatment by means of new types of conservation agents, hermetic sealing of important functional parts of equipment by means of modern hermetic sealing devices, static regulation of the internal cryptoclimate of those parts using desiccants and viable covering materials for preparation of individual covering systems and covers.

The importance of high-quality technical treatment using the new types of conservation was already pointed out. Hermetic sealing of important functional parts of equipment is intended to insulate the metal surfaces of those parts (internal barrel surface, breech mechanism) from the external environment and thus prevent their being attacked by corrosion. Hermetical sealing is done using GRANOFIX self-adhesive aluminum foil in the manner shown in the photographs. The advantage of the employed system and method is very simple application and, if technological procedures are followed, a high degree of imperviousness to water and water vapors.

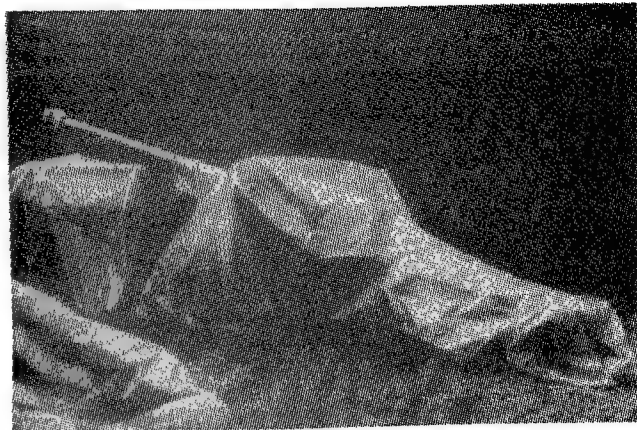
The concluding operation in preparing equipment for long-term storage is a cover made of a viable material--type FOLTEX and FOLTEX S reinforced polyethylene foil. These covers are made separately for each type of equipment in the form of specially shaped covering units. Good results were obtained with this method in long-term storage of antitank and antiaircraft cannons, small arms and machine guns in atmospheric conditions over periods of 3-5 years. Methods for long-term storage of other types of equipment are being prepared on the basis of the above findings. Also under preparation are methods for long-term storage of small arms using contractible foil that warrant adequate protective efficiency.

Readying of equipment from long-term storage for use in combat calls for removal of the FOLTEX or FOLTEX S reinforced foil covers, removal of fixation covering foils or papers, removal of the hermetically sealing aluminum foil, taking out the desiccant and supplementing the weapons by optical instruments.

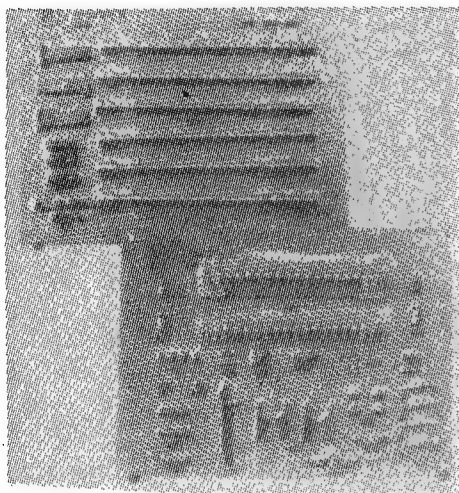
Practical experience has shown the advantages offered by the employed system of long-term storage of armaments that does away with deconservation of important assemblies, particularly the demanding barrel rifling deconservation which, especially in winter, was considerably time consuming. The described methods, technologies and processes make use of contemporary possibilities for protection of equipment against exposure to corrosion and climatic stress and their use represents a contribution to the area of long-term storage of armaments.



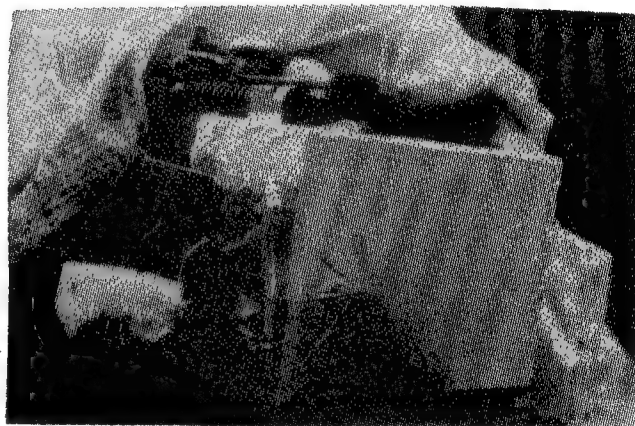
1. p 22, top left:  
Hermetic sealing of the muzzle  
by self-adhesive magnetic foil



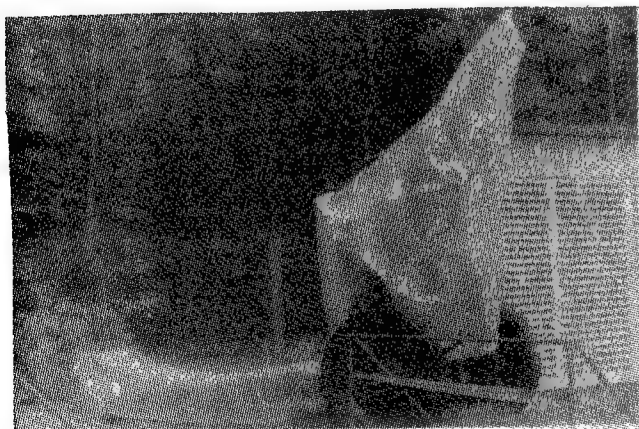
2. p. 22, top right:  
Application of cover to a weapons  
set by means of the FOLTEX  
reinforced polyethylene foil



3. p 22, bottom:  
SKIN-PACK method of packing grouped  
replacement parts for small arms



4. p 23, left:  
Sample of hermetic sealing of the  
breech and barrel end by means of  
a self-adhesive aluminum foil



5. p 23, right:  
Use of shaped cover for covering a  
weapons system for long-term storage.

17 May 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## NEW ALERT SYSTEM IN HIGHWAY ACCIDENTS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by Zdenek Zuntich: "Precious Minutes"]

[Text] To convince someone that the number of traffic accidents is rising from year to year would be like carrying coals to Newcastle or Skoda automobiles to Mlada Boleslav. It is, after all, an overly well-known fact. Last year alone there were more than 73,500 traffic accidents on the highways of the Czech Socialist Republic. Some 786 persons died and 3,716 persons were seriously injured. This is another reason why thought is being constantly given to how this inglorious balance could be lowered. One of the possibilities--how to quickly intervene following an accident--involves the establishment of a universal system for summoning first aid. The system saw the light of day for the first time some 3 years ago on Highway No 3 in the sector from Mirosovice to Ceske Budejovice and Dolni Dvoriste and was dubbed AUTOVOC. Over a distance of 150 km, some 85 emergency call boxes are located which can be used to summon medical as well as technical assistance. However, it is a paradox that this operational and far-from-inexpensive technology is not utilized. For example, on this highway in the vicinity of Ceske Budejovice and Cesky Krumlov members of the police recorded 120 traffic accidents the year before last. However, the AUTOVOC columns were only utilized once! Every time more complicated methods were being sought and few people thought that they were simultaneously losing precious minutes. Those minutes which, during these moments, really matter. And so little is required--it is necessary only to press a button at the orange-yellow column and to wait a maximum of 4 seconds before the main switchboard responds.... And the fact that this equipment is not only a highway decoration was shown by a verification exercise which was carried out in the South Moravia Kraj. It showed that if timely aid is rendered, it is possible to avoid some 15 to 20 percent of the deaths in a number of lethal injuries which occur during traffic accidents. And these are facts which are worth thinking about.

5911

CSO: 2400/358

17 May 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## BRIEFS

FORECAST STUDIES PROMOTED--The problem of formulation and use of forecast studies in the national economy and other areas of social life in the SSR was analyzed at the Wednesday working conference organized by the CPSL Central Committee in Bratislava. It was attended by the member of the presidium of the CPSL Central Committee, the first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee Jozef Lenart, presidium member and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee Ludovit Pezlar and others. Experiences with the formulation of forecasts in the USSR were described by the deputy manager of the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Jurij Jarjomenko. Chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Vladimir Janko dealt with the contribution of the Slovak Academy of Sciences to the elaboration of the comprehensive forecast of CSSR development and with intersectoral cooperation and use of Soviet experiences. Participants at the meeting paid attention also to tasks in forecasting the social and economic development, present situation and prospects of society in the SSR. In his concluding statement Comrade Jozef Lenart stated that the results achieved by Soviet theory and practice in the area of forecasting were the source of inspiration also for our party practice and activity of planning and other institutions. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Mar 85 p 2] 10501

COOPERATION WITH ETHIOPIA ANNOUNCED--After the conclusion of the meeting of intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Ethiopian commission for economic, commercial and scientific-technical cooperation the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban granted an interview to the CTK correspondent in Addis Ababa. He evaluated the positive results of the conference which took place from 22 to 27 March. Although many problems arose in Ethiopia because of the long-lasting drought, the results of development in industry and agriculture have been improving. Czechoslovakia has constructed several plants in Ethiopia and is about to complete the construction of two flour mills and a textile factory. This year it will deliver equipment for a very important hydroelectric plant Malka Wakana which is being constructed in cooperation with the USSR. Since these plants have been working well, Czechoslovakia got a chance to obtain orders for the construction of additional factories. A number of Czechoslovak experts are working in Ethiopia as well. The minister emphasized that cooperation with the CSSR is highly appreciated in Ethiopia, which despite the complex situation meets its financial obligations. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Mar 85 p 7] 10501

SUPPORT OF NICARAGUA REAFFIRMED--Milos Jakes, a member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, received ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Nicaraguan Republic in Czechoslovakia, Aguile Centen Perez, on Thursday at the latter's own request. The Nicaraguan ambassador informed Milos Jakes regarding the latest developments in Nicaragua and the determination of the Nicaraguan people to defend the revolution against the attacks of the counterrevolutionaries, who are supported by the United States. He expressed the thanks of the Sandinista front of national liberation to the Central Committee of the CPCZ, to the Government of Czechoslovakia and all of the Czechoslovak people for their aid and solidarity with the fight of the Nicaraguan people against the efforts to stifle the Sandinista revolution. Comrade Jakes assured the Nicaraguan ambassador that the people of fighting Nicaragua can continue to count on the full solidarity and support of the Czechoslovak people. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Mar 85 p 2] 5911

CSO: 2400/358

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, MARCH 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 3, Mar 85 (signed to press 11 Feb 85)  
pp 194, 287

[Summary of articles by Prof Dr Heinrich Opitz, director of the science sector in Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, member, SED Central Committee and deputy chairperson of the FDGB National Executive Committee; and Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences and GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; pp 199-217]

[Text] The Topic: Freedom and Democracy

In his article, "Political Power and Intellectual Freedom," Heinrich Opitz explains why for the first time political power and intellectual freedom exist in harmonious unity in socialism. In her contribution, "Socialist Democracy in the Labor Process," Johanna Toepfer explores the extensive trade union rights and draws inferences from that for deepening the working people's democratic participation in the various forms of socialist democracy. Taking up the problem of "Social and Individual Freedom in Our Time," a topic of great importance to the ideological conflict, Wolfgang Eichhorn I shows where individual freedom finds expression and why social freedom forms its framework and foundation.

[Summary of article by Ernst Krabatsch, main department chief in the GDR Foreign Ministry; pp 218-222]

[Text] Peace Strategy Versus War Danger

The most important task of mankind lies in safeguarding peace and eliminating the danger of war. Therein lies the key to understanding the historic significance of the joint Soviet-U.S. Geneva announcement. The struggle by the USSR, the GDR and the other socialist countries for safeguarding peace, arms limitation and disarmament, and the return to detente--the fulfilment of their historic peace mission. The need and possibility for creating a coalition of reason and realism against a nuclear inferno.



[Summary of article by Prof Dr Georg Ebert, head of the professorate for the political economy of socialism at the Karl Marx Party College of the SED Central Committee, and Uwe Moeller, deputy director of the academic area political economy and economic sciences at the Karl Marx Party College of the SED Central Committee; pp 223-228. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Science, Technology Viewed as Key to Productivity," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Higher Standards and New Possibilities for Increasing Labor Productivity

Decisive for continued dynamic performance growth in the new stage of our economic strategy is for such growth to be based on a rapid increase in labor productivity. Where are the new opportunities for boosting labor productivity, and which tasks do the basic party organizations have in this effort?

[Summary of article by Rolf Jobst, graduate social scientist, secretary for economic policy at Gera Bezirk SED Management; pp 229-232]

[Text] Advances and Tasks in Consumer Goods Production

In the further continuation of the main task, great importance attaches to the production and availability of industrial consumer goods. It is being explained with reference to Gera Bezirk how the bezirk party organization leads the increase in consumer goods production politically and ideologically and how, through a target-directed use of resources, consumer goods production capacities are created. The article also demonstrates how in the traditional consumer goods combines, the combines producing the means of production, and in the bezirk-managed enterprises a high performance development is attained.

[Summary of article by Dr Wilhelm Cesarz, state secretary in the Ministry for Agriculture, Forestry and Food Products; pp 233-237. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Farming, Animal Husbandry Programs Outlined," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Onward to the Eleventh Party Congress With Socialist Agriculture's High Achievements

The contribution by the cooperative farmers and rural workers in getting set for the 11th party congress lies in repeating the highest yields thus far, of 1984, and in stabilizing and further extending them. What marks the course of comprehensive agricultural intensification? What demands arise for crop and livestock production, and how are they coped with through working with maximum yield and maximum performance conceptions? How is the streamlined reproduction process made more effective by means of deeper cooperation?



[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, head of research department at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 238-244. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Effect of New Technology on Life and Work Assessed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Comprehensive Intensification and the Socialist Way of Life

With the shaping of the developed socialist society, the character of the socialist way of life becomes more pronounced. How do the production relations and the productive forces affect that? Developments in the productive forces being by and large identical, how do the contradictions then become ever more apparent between the socialist and the capitalist way of life?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Juergen Polzin, head of the research center of the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, Halle-Neustadt; pp 245-250]

[Text] Preparing Youth for Scientific-Technological Progress

The Eighth Pedagogical Congress issued the orientation to enable youth to face the demands and problems of scientific-technological progress. Consequences for instruction are presented under that aspect. Experiences from schools and enterprises in Halle Bezirk illuminate how pupils, assigned to proper training jobs, are familiarized with modern technology and how technological propensities and talents are being encouraged.

[Summary of article by Bruno Mahlow, graduate political scientist, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission and deputy department head of the SED Central Committee; pp 251-257. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Communists--the Most Decisive Force in the Struggles of Our Time

Standing in the front rank of the peace struggle and being the vanguard of social progress, the international communist movement is that force which furnishes answers to the acute basic issues of our time that are scientifically sound, politically motivating and in accord with the peoples' interests. Aware of topical requirements and possibilities and in accord with other communist parties, our party endorses all proposals and initiatives which--proceeding from the requisite orientation to what they all have in common--serve to increase the communists' action capability and the clarification of ripened issues.

[Summary of article by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and president of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic; pp 258-265. A full translation of this article is published in this report under the country heading HUNGARY]

[Text] Forty Years of Free Hungary

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation, the author assesses the results of the road taken in these four decades under Hungarian communist leadership, analyzes the experiences gained thereby in this fraternal socialist country and, directly before the 13th MSZMP Congress, gives a survey on the successes achieved and the requirements for further successful socialist construction in the Hungarian People's Republic, which are dedicated to the people's well-being and to peace.

[Summary of article by Dr Richard Lakowski of the GDR Institute for Military History, Potsdam; pp 266-271]

[Text] The Fascist Beast Facing Its Doom

This article, while taking issue with bourgeois distortions on the side, analyzes the fascist German imperialist designs at escaping its doom in the final phase of World War II, buttressed by terror and demagoguery. It also pays tribute to the achievements of the Soviet Union in particular by saving humanity from fascist barbarism as a lesson for the peace struggle in our own time.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Krause, head of the political economy sector of the economic sciences section, Humboldt-University, Berlin; pp 272-277]

[Text] U.S. Economy in Search of a Recovery Concept

What explains the imperialist circles' euphoria due to last year's U.S. economic development? What specifics and contradictions mark the most recent cyclical boom? What strategic objectives does monopoly capital pursue, especially its most reactionary and aggressive wing, in seeking a feasible concept for an economic recovery or a "revival" of the major imperialist power? Where does such a concept ultimately run up against its limits, and which new contradictions and conflicts does its implementation evoke?

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROGRAM, INTERACTION OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM LAUDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 3, Mar 85(signed to press 11 Feb 85)  
pp 251-257

[Article by Bruno Mahlow, member of the SED Central Auditing Commission and deputy department head of the SED Central Committee: "Communists--the Most Decisive Force in the Struggles of Our Time"]

[Text] Social conflicts in the past and our time attest to the communists' high sense of responsibility for the fate of humanity. It is the loyalty to the socialist ideals, to peace and social and national liberation, to the peoples' very own interests, and the selfless struggle for implementing them, which still makes the communists the most "decisive and propelling" force.\* In 95 countries around the world the communists are at work today. Their growing influence is not manifested by figures alone. It is expressed mainly in the decisive qualitative processes from which arise new and higher tasks for the communists. That includes the advance of mankind along the tracks of social progress, and of communism as the decisive tendency in historic development. That is in no way affected by any problems, difficulties or even reversals at times that come when one takes new ways in social development. The international communist movement is the only political force that furnishes answers to the acute basic questions of mankind that are scientifically sound, politically mobilizing, world-changing and in accord with the interests of the peoples.

In view of the inability by capitalism to solve the basic issues of mankind, more and more people turn to the ideals embodied by socialism, the role of the people's masses is growing in the political and social struggles of our time. Marx' realization of the increasing role of the people's masses has found its expression since the Great October in the ever more conscious participation of the masses in social construction in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, in the growing role by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in solving the tasks of their national and social liberation, as well as in international events, in the worldwide peace movement, and in the development of many different new protest movements in the capitalist countries. With

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\*Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" [Works], Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 474.

this increasing breadth of the political struggles the communists' role and responsibility are mounting. An especially high responsibility accrues to them from the danger of a nuclear inferno that emanates from imperialism that is gambling with the survival of mankind. The communists are not only fighters against exploitation and suppression; they also are above all the most rigorous combatants for rescuing humanity from nuclear war. The historic mission of the workers class and the communist world movement is getting a new dimension. The processes connected with that reveal the decisive importance of the conscious and, hence, organized creativeness of the people's masses--this all the more so because a successful struggle without clear aims and without an effective tie between revolutionary theory and practice is less possible now than ever.

Standing at the height of our times' requirements means, to the communists, feeling especially responsible for a Marxist-Leninist response in good time to the new questions life has raised. Understanding Marxism-Leninism as a creative doctrine, as a guideline for action, today means paying special attention to such key issues as:

- the new dimension in the historic mission of the workers class, the communists, and their responsibility for safeguarding peace in the world, both in space and on the earth;
- the drawing of general inferences from the collective experiences gathered in the socialist countries and regard for them in the development of various countries toward socialism, in the implementation of the conception of developed socialism, and in shaping a new type of international relations;
- the struggle for democracy and fundamental social progress in the developed capitalist countries under the conditions of the altered international correlation of forces and new possibilities and requirements in the struggle for enforcing the peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders;
- and the elaboration of concrete developmental roads toward socialism in some former colonial countries, with strict regard for the fact that any social progress presupposes the ripening of objective conditions, the struggle and efforts by the peoples in these countries, the formation and consolidation of revolutionary vanguard parties and a correct policy by their leadership.

#### In the Front Rank of the Peace Struggle

As the most resolute fighters against exploitation and suppression the communists have always been the staunchest fighters against imperialist war and aggression. Successes in this struggle have always been most closely linked with a change in the international correlation of forces for the benefit of peace and socialism. This change also was the decisive prerequisite for the conclusion of principle drawn at the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 that another world war no longer is unavoidable. At the same time, precisely the exacerbation of the international situation through the confrontation course of U.S. imperialism has made this clear: To preserve peace and make it permanent we need today more than ever an extremely active struggle willing for sacrifice. And more than that, the preservation of peace has become the central issue for humanity in view of the risk of a devastating nuclear war. That fact also determines the substance in the activities of all communist and workers parties, imposes on them a new historic scope. To recognize this and draw the necessary conclusions from it is a great obligation the communists have in the national as well as international framework.

In view of the anticipated development of military technology, Lenin, in June 1918, warned that "war between advanced countries not only would be the greatest crime, it would mean the complete break with the accomplishments of the most modern civilization and culture and could lead, inevitably would lead, to undermining the conditions for survival by human society."\*

Peace is not simply a preferable alternative in international relations; it is a categorical requirement for the survival of mankind, hence a basic prerequisite for all progress. That precisely is why the communists emphasize that the arms buildup and confrontation course by the most aggressive, mainly the U.S., imperialist circles, contemplating the risk of nuclear war, is a global challenge to all mankind.

Not only the three chief revolutionary currents are siding with peace in the issue of war or peace. Rather, a profound contradiction has opened up between the most aggressive imperialist forces and the broadest social forces all the way to parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The joint concern for safeguarding peace is in this sense a crucial prerequisite and also an objective foundation for a worldwide coalition of reason and realism. Real socialism, the international workers movement, the national liberation forces, the peace-loving forces are actually stronger already today than those circles that are putting their stakes on aggression. Turning that superiority into a real force, however, calls for energetic and concerted actions. So all peace forces must become aware of their common interests and act accordingly in taking the lessons of World War II to heart in good time.

Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, wrote this: "Any thinking person is bound to ask himself: Could World War II not have been prevented? It evidently could have been prevented if the European peoples and governments had collectively opposed Hitler's rapacious arrogations, as the Soviet Union had proposed."\*\* The communists, as is well known, already in the 1960's took issue with the adventurist and ultra-leftist notions portraying another world war not only as unavoidable, but even as a factor that would speed up social progress. The communists take the changes into account that have taken place in the relation between war and revolution in the nuclear age and emphasize that more than ever today the peoples need the peaceful coexistence principle. This does not mean for the communists to repudiate the revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation. Rather, the connection between the struggle for social progress and the struggle for preventing nuclear war is closer than ever. Unless one manages to preserve peace, no premises are left at all under contemporary conditions for resolving other basic problems of mankind.

At the same time, the imperialist arms buildup policy is not only the main obstacle for solving such global human problems as ensuring the raw material,

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\*V. I. Lenin, "Joint Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies Soviets and the Trade Unions," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 420.

\*\*"Konstantin Chernenko--In Bonds of Firm Friendship," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 January 1985, p 3.

energy and food requirements and protecting the environment. It brings with it directly the sharpening of the capitalist crisis and the exacerbation of all the social and political contradictions that are germane to that system.

NATO's arms buildup course and especially the radically aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism go hand in hand with a further deterioration of the working people's situation, with mounting fear about one's subsistence, with stronger reaction inside capitalist states, and with extra burdens heaped upon the developing countries. More than ever a successful struggle for defending and expanding the working people's social and political rights becomes thus inconceivable without a rigorous struggle against those imperialist forces that are engaged in a forcible arms buildup and confrontation policy and are striving for world domination.

Interlinking the tasks to be solved in the struggle for peace and social progress plays an ever increasing role in the activities of the communist parties. That leads not only to an expansion of the forces taking part in social conflicts; it also provides new battlefields and new motives for the confrontation with the imperialist system. In line with the new dimension in the historic working class mission, the communists' international activity in the peace issue has become more comprehensive and complex.

The major battlegrounds for peace include:

- the all-round consolidation of socialism as the main force for peace, the incessant preservation of the military-strategic equilibrium in view of the aggressive nature of imperialism, and the need to allow no misassessment, fateful for humanity, of the international correlation of forces among the adherents to war, and to improve the understanding of realities;
- a purposive implementation of the foreign policy course of the community of socialist states based on their peace program, with special regard for the fact that their political initiatives address the governments as well as the peoples;
- initiative-rich efforts toward consolidating the worldwide peace movement, seeking new forms for mobilizing broad population strata in the peace struggle. Today, peace efforts around the negotiation table can less than ever be detached from an active engagement by the broad masses and the various social forces to peace. Preventing an arms race in space and ending the arms race on the earth--that is not only a diplomatic formulation from the joint Soviet-U.S. announcement on talks between Andrei Gromyko and George Shultz; it is the concentrated requirement for the key problem of safeguarding peace in our time. The Geneva accords on Soviet-U.S. negotiations about the whole complex of space and nuclear weapons mark a positive step opening a chance for a recovery of the international situation. To turn this chance into reality becomes all the more promising, the more weight attaches to the worldwide peace movement and all forces of reason and realism; and:
- intensive ideological activity in disclosing the causes and sources of the war danger and tapping the now greater opportunities to immobilize the imperialist war-mongers in good time. In this sense, the tribute to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's triumph over fascism and the peoples' liberation from Hitler barbarism and a persuasive propagating of the lessons of that historic event will play an important role today. In particular, there is the need to fight against war before it can start, i.e. for well-timed collective

efforts by the governments and peoples that will not allow humanity to be plunged into the nuclear abyss through mendacious allegations of a "threat from the east." First and foremost we need joint actions by the workers class and all revolutionary forces against the most extreme monopoly capital forces and, above and beyond that, a worldwide mobilization of all forces of reason and realism.

Commenting on the communists' responsibility in today's struggle and the recovery in the international situation, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, underscored this point: "What is indeed expected of us communists is not merely an admonishment on behalf of peace. Expected of us is an answer to the question about the causes of the intensified war danger and about how to preserve peace and improve the world situation. Justified worry about peace always becomes a motivating force once it leads to the resolve to do something oneself to avert the danger and strengthen the potentials for peace. And that precisely is what our policy is aimed at. No doubt, precisely in so exacerbated a situation it is necessary to mobilize the world audience for the defense of peace and work together with those who, like us, define the main danger to humanity as a nuclear inferno. Today we need a worldwide coalition of reason and realism against the insane nuclear arms build-up policy threatening all humanity."\* GDR communists are aware of the strategic task to strengthen socialism all-around and preserve peace by all necessary means. That is made clear by the preparations for the 11th party congress.

#### Vanguard of Social Progress

In the struggles of our times, the attitude toward socialism as the main force for peace and social progress no doubt plays an outstanding role. The debates on this question also within the revolutionary movement reflect the search for concrete approaches to social progress as well as, not last, the critique of principle of the capitalist social conceptions, as they do the increasing attractiveness of socialism, it being the only social alternative for resolving the tasks confronting humanity. The stronger attacks against socialism and the anticommunist crusade kindled by the Reagan Administration are expressive of imperialism's historic defensive and of the intensifying crisis in the capitalist system.

Real socialism is the main achievement of the revolutionary workers movement and, at once, the highest stage of humanity's social progress attained thus far. It is the strongest bulwark and most reliable guardian of peace. Its political, economic, military and ideological strength is of crucial importance to the course of history. To the CEMA countries alone, where 10 percent of the world population lives, go 25 percent of the world's national income, 30 percent of its industrial output and 20 percent of its farm output, and one third of its scientific-technological potential. In such basic issues as social security and justice, the abolition of exploitation and national suppression, and the equality of nations, the socialist social order has emphatically proven its advantages and superiority. That applies equally to the development of democracy,

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 21.

the participation by ever broader population strata in the management of the state and the society, and to practically shaping an exemplary and completely new type of truly fraternal international relations among peoples and states.

For all that we have to remember: These successes were achieved, essentially, in countries that were not among the economically and culturally most developed states and under conditions of tough confrontations by imperialist assaults. While the capitalist social system in its major centers passes through the highest and, hence, final stage of its historic development and the limits of its possibilities become ever more clearly apparent in the aftermath of the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the socialist social system is rapidly unfolding its own potentials and possibilities, both on the national and international scope. Its impulses are by no means exhausted; rather, it is a matter of bringing them to bear on the highest level of the principals and fundamentals that are germane to socialism, whereby also to cope with the task already set by Lenin, relative to the labor productivity in the confrontation between the two social systems.

The communists in the Soviet Union are getting set for their 27th party congress. This highest forum of Lenin's party will be of crucial importance for further perfecting the developed socialist society. Moreover, new impulses will emanate from that party congress for the struggle for peace and further social progress in the world.

Like the GDR communists, other communist and workers parties in the socialist community are also intensively preparing their next party congresses. Now it turns out that the communists' activities in the fraternal socialist countries are not only assuming an ever more comprehensive character but are also increasingly satisfying the higher demands made on a creative approach to understanding and resolving new tasks in social development. They are reflected particularly by the search for perfecting all sides of the communist parties' leadership activity in conformity with the requirements of today and with the collective experiences gathered, by resolutely turning to qualitatively new tasks in coping with the economy, and by focusing on the further development of socialist democracy, the creativeness of the masses.

#### For Active Collaboration

In the relations among the communist and workers parties in the various countries, highly flexible and distinct forms of collaboration have formed in the last decade: Participation in the fraternal parties' congresses, international science conferences, such as the Karl Marx Conference in Berlin in April 1983, regional meetings between communist and workers parties, the activity of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, and many other bilateral and multi-lateral meetings and consultations between communist and workers parties on the various levels.

Many communist and labor parties have come forth recently with proposals, considerations and initiatives for more intensive collaboration among the communists in the struggle against the war danger and for the safeguarding of peace. The point was made that it was more important today than ever to make a more effective use of the chances for the communists' international collaboration in getting together more often to exchange information and opinions and agree on



concerted actions. In particular it is being pointed out that our time is seeing an increasing trend toward the internationalization of political struggles. Here the growing importance is being stressed of the question that determines the existence of mankind about the safeguarding of peace as well as other global problems, such as surmounting the neocolonialist exploitation of the peoples, the setting up of democratic international economic relations, the restraining of international monopolist rule, the solution of energy, raw materials and food problems, and the protection of the environment. In view of the central importance of the maintenance of peace, we find more clearly than ever today that no essential task within the national framework can be resolved without a realistic assessment and concrete account of the correlation of forces, without regard to the needed confrontation with the U.S. imperialist confrontation course and its influence on the situation in the world and in each country, or without profoundly understanding the new dimension in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace.

New requirements for the collaboration among communists are derived from the increasing internationalization in the capitalist economic system and the ensuing conclusions for enforcing the working people's political and social rights. Many parties emphatically also point to the trend of increasing international affiliation among various political groups of capital.

With the stress on new requirements the fraternal parties combine the realization that producing joint positions and actions always has been the outcome of a deliberate process of opinion and experience exchange, of discussion and even of dispute. Differences of opinion arising are not regarded as a reason to refrain from collective debates and meetings. There is nothing extraordinary in there being differences of opinion in political life--that is what one would like to tell those comrades who find therein reasons for the unsuitability of international meetings and actions. After all, today it is not primarily a dispute on how one can get to socialism better and faster. The very point, rather, is how one can get on at all and see to it that humanity has a future. That is the reason why especially the communists emphasize that turning swords into plowshares on earth demands first and foremost foiling the aspirations of those who want to carry that sword into space in their insane arms race.

When communists meet today, it should be less important than ever either to deny or to turn into absolutes the differences in the struggle conditions and of disparate positions and interests. They are in many respects an expression of the general laws of motion of human society prevailing in ever more diversified forms and, as such, a perfectly natural phenomenon. Active internationalist solidarity does not do away with the variety of forms, methods and ways of struggle for social progress. Rather, it is an expression of the further developing tendency of the internationalization of social processes. In view of that, it seems more than logical for the communist parties to consider a business-like and regular exchange of information and opinion not only necessary, but very useful in fact for exchanging experiences and enhancing the effectiveness of their struggle, both nationally and internationally. This all the more so since--as we see time and time again--that which unites the communists in the world is stronger than what differentiates them. Being oriented to what they have in common and what unites them is a particularly pressing requirement today in view of the central importance of the peace issue.

Our party, as the 10th SED Congress affirmed, endorses all proposals and initiatives serving to enhance the communists' action capability and the clarification of ripened and controversial issues, while it takes up-to-date requirements and possibilities into account. Responding to the well known initiative from Latin American communist parties on the matter of an international conference of communist and workers parties, Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "It is obviously timely to consider whether and in which form the communist and workers parties could meet to discuss burning current issues of their collaborating with other forces. In its response to the proposal from the conference of the communist parties of South America, of 5 to 7 July 1984 in Buenos Aires, on summoning a world meeting of communist and workers parties, our party has declared its willingness to enter into consultations to reach a collective understanding about this matter."\*

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\*Ibid., pp 28-29

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BOOK ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM REVIEWED

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pp 285-286

[Review by Prof Dr Joachim Boehm, section head of the SED Central Committee, of book "Die internationale kommunistische Bewegung" [The International Communist Movement] by a committee headed by W. W. Zagladin, Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1984]

[Text] A reputable number of monographs and articles on the struggle of communist and workers parties has been published in the GDR in recent years. Yet what was lacking was an up-to-date overall account summarizing the consequences deriving for the international communist movement from the expansion of the world revolutionary process, the ensuing modification of struggle conditions and the current exacerbation of the world situation. The present book by an authors' collective, headed by W. W. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the Central Committee's international department, helps close this gap in our literature.

In reading this book, which combines the presentation of the basic Marxist-Leninist positions with exploring the answers given by parties to novel questions, it becomes clear that elaborating a strategy and tactics for the communists, who bear both a national and an international responsibility, has never been an easy job. What matters, after all, is taking to heart the internationally gained experiences and, simultaneously, seeking new and unfamiliar ways; there are no "models" to be used for once and for all.

By accounting for the extraordinary variety of conditions under which the revolutionary forces are fighting for their goals today, the evidence also is provided for that the communists are not merely a simple sum total of the different parties, but a movement exercising increasing influence on international politics. This movement "is the totality of equal, independent and self-reliant national parties united objectively through the unity of the class struggle, the joint objectives and tasks in the struggle, the ideology worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin and their successors, and the same organizational principles" (p 41).

The authors underscore the well known remark by Yuriy Andropov that the task of eliminating the danger of a nuclear inferno that hovers over mankind grants a new dimension to the historic mission of the workers class and induces "a new

mode of evaluating the fundamental meaning in the activity of the entire communist movement" (p 126). They turn against opposing the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe with the struggle for the working people's social interests and political rights and underscore: Solving all these tasks "is inseparable today from the struggle against the danger of nuclear war. In this sense the communists, orienting the masses mainly to more peace efforts, also provide the masses with a new impulse for the struggle on behalf of economic, social and political problems and for the issues of the daily protection of the working people's interests" (p 127).

The communist world movement has always found its strongest support in the countries of real socialism. The informative survey presented on the development of the socialist world system and the socialist society gains further by the concern to furnish many answers to questions posed in the more recent past in the fraternal parties' discussions about the current development of the socialist countries: about the universal inevitabilities, the development toward socialist democracy, the theory of developed socialism, the organization of the Warsaw Pact and the development of CEMA. The experiences garnered by the CPSU and the fraternal parties in other socialist countries in solving these problems are analyzed in great detail.

The authors combine their account of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory with analyzing the results some communist parties have reached in looking for possible ways of transition to socialism in their respective countries. The book states that the experiences the socialist countries have made in terms of the variety of ways and means in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while fully abiding by its essence, are of great international importance for future revolutions. At the same time, no room for doubt is left for that in the future revolutions will engender still more variety: "Wholly unexpected variants in the combination of parliamentary systems with any sort of new system of the people's power, any sort of variants still unknown in historic practice of involving parties and organizations in the construction of the new society, and principles of a type of their own in the relations among them might arise" (p 179).

Taking issue with the allegations by bourgeois ideologists about the "disappearance" of the proletariat, the authors document the further growth of the workers class in the nonsocialist countries and analyze the tendencies which are now encouraging or blocking the complicated process of class consciousness development in the proletariat. They impressively describe the experiences the workers have made in the mighty militant operations of recent years and the efforts by communist parties in nonsocialist countries to raise the class consciousness of the workers class and for its action unity. Seeking collaboration with socialist or social-democratic parties, the communist parties maintain "that ideological differences of opinion with those parties must be no unsurmountable obstacle to a joint struggle for the pressing interests of the workers class and to solving the not to be delayed problems of democratic development, for peace, detente and disarmament and joint solidarity campaigns for the victims of fascism and of reaction" (p 231).

The authors pay much attention to the current problems in the alliance policy of the communist parties which, in the struggle for pervasive socioeconomic and political transformations, objectively prove the decisive factor for uniting

all democratic forces and movements. "In the current and highly complicated situation in the countries and on the international scope, it has however become much more difficult for the communists to gain the leadership role in the anti-imperialist struggle" (p 485). In this context the authors examine the communists' efforts to have their parties organizationally, politically and ideologically consolidated. "The most important aspect in strengthening the political-ideological base of the communist parties is the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The creative spirit of Marxism-Leninism makes imperative always comparing its theoretical principles with the changes occurring in the course of social development, establishing the perspectives of political action, and enriching earlier conclusions and reconsidering them in the light of new facts" (p 504).

Proceeding from the historic developmental phases of proletarian internationalism and the unity of the international communist movement, the authors analyze the importance of internationalism in our time, when the revolutionary process and the world as such are marked by an increasing internationalization of the various sides of public life yet the conditions for communist party activities are differentiating further and the variety of methods, ways and means is growing. Under such conditions, differences of opinion in the communist movement are a natural phenomenon. "The task is not to let them turn into conflicts that might undermine ideological unity and internationalist solidarity" (p 564). Above all, however, in view of the nuclear threat to world peace that emanates from the most aggressive imperialist circles, there is an ever growing need "for the fraternal parties to coordinate their actions to unite all revolutionary and democratic forces that are coming out against war" (p 558).

The aspects referred to, brief as it was, suggest one essential advantage the book has: The account of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles is organically combined with the treatment of topical tasks in the communist world movement, whereby it helps clarify quite a number of stirring problems.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MEASURES INIMICAL TO ETHNIC MINORITY REVIEWED

Stuttgart OSTEUROPA in German Vol 35 No 3, Mar 85 pp 158-168

[Article by Dr Klaus J. Dippman, lecturer in Eastern church history at the Free University of Berlin: "Bi-National Lausitz--Recent Developments in the Sorb Language Region"]

[Text] Volume 4 of the "Geschichte der Sorben" [History of the Sorbs] (Bautzen, 1979) presents as an appendix three map outlines showing the settlements and organization of the Sorbs and inducing the author to comment on some developments that took place in the so-called bilingual Lausitz region, mainly in the last decade--without yet having been concluded. Some of the questions that arise in this context are these: Is there still altogether a binational Lausitz and a bilingual Lusatian population, in fact a Sorb language region? This much may be said at the outset: no longer are Sorbs settled today in historic Lausitz on the whole. The region in which Sorbs live has become very much smaller than the territory of the Duchy of Luxembourg.

Years ago already historian Rudolf Lehmann properly pointed to deficiencies attached to most cartographic presentations of the Sorb language region (in BERICHTE ZUR DEUTSCHEN LANDESKUNDE, Bad Godesberg, No 1, January 1963). Maps normally were surface maps completely leaving out of account to what degree Sorbian was "still alive" in the various localities. Hatchings would not do it either. Yet the demands Lehmann raised can be met only under certain preconditions: Unobjectionable detailed statistics must be available, and the statistical base material must accord with facts. Those conditions, however, are not met with regard to the Sorbs--as well as other national minorities.

The Problems of the Number of Sorbs

The statistical offices of Germany, Saxony and Prussia-Brandenburg would constantly be reproached for having accounted for much too small a number of Sorbs so that, in their defense, the noted Prussian statistician Karl Keller sought to present counter-evidence in ZEITSCHRIFT DES PREUSSISCHEN STATISTISCHEN LANDESAMTES, No 66, 1926, Berlin, 1927. It was a hopeless effort. Till then, members of minorities never consistently and fully acknowledged themselves as belonging to a minority when officially queried. Among the highly suspicious Sorbs an official census would invariably come to nought. The GDR has meanwhile given up asking for proper data for its census. Since the official repression of Sorbs at the 1946 census, where there even were massive anti-Sorb

excesses committed by the People's Police, members of minorities are getting less inclined to identify their ethnic membership to the administration. That explains the official data on the Sorbs' native tongue or their being bilingual, rated at being too low. Since there have been official census figures, by the competent statistical offices the following values have been established for Prussia and Saxony relative to Lausitz (according to E. Tschernik, "Die Entwicklung der sorbischen Bevoelkerung von 1832 bis 1945" [The Sorbian Population Trend from 1832 to 1945], East Berlin, 1954; J. Bluethgen, "Jahrbuch fuer Fraenkische Landesforschung," Festschrift E. Schwarz, II, Kallmuenz/Opf. 1961):

Year	Number of Sorbs	Year	Number of Sorbs
1849	141,649	1910	102,801
1861	137,416	1925	71,984
1871	128,040	1934	57,167
1900	106,462	1946	32,061

During the Hitler dictatorship at the 1939 census only 474 persons in Saxony listed Sorbian as their native tongue, in Prussia no one did (VI. Zmeskal: Luzicti Srbove, Prague, 1962, pp 91 ff). Like the 1939 data so also those of 1946 have never been officially published. After "Domowina," the national organization of the Sorbs, intervened at the Soviet Military Administration in Germany in 1946, it did not release for publication the part of the census that concerned the Sorbs. The pieces of evidence for repressions against the Sorbs that "Domowina" presented to the Soviet Administration with regard to answering question 9 (native tongue) and question 10 (national descent) on the questionnaire were overwhelming (among others, cf. K. J. Schiller, "Die Sorben in der antifaschistisch-demokratischen Umwaelzung [1945-1949]" Bautzen, 1976, p 103). One may say about that that in part the anti-Sorbian repressions of 1946 were motivated by the rumors that Lausitz was to be severed from Germany with Sorbian help and attached to Czechoslovakia.

Some lexicons and other materials today normally give the number of Sorbs at circa 100,000, without further reference. That is often being copied uncritically. So the question arises whether there ever were any fairly reliable figures at all, and precisely that question has to be answered in the affirmative. Under certain conditions the Sorbs are perfectly willing to reveal their individual ethnic membership, when they are dealing with persons they trust or other Sorbs or Slavic friends. The most reliable figures based on their native tongue were established through field studies by the Sorbian scholar Prof Arnost Muka between 1880 and 1884. The reason why they are reliable is that Muka in cases of doubt listed persons queried as German native speakers, so that the number of Sorbs was no interpolation. As the result of his survey for Lausitz Muka came to a number of 166,067 Sorbs. Almost at the same time official statistics in Saxon Lausitz listed 47,134 Sorbs (1885) and in the Prussian part 65,876 (1890), i.e. only circa 112,000 Sorbs.

Not before 1945 comes another Sorbian counting. That was, however, carried out, by "Domowina" only in the three Upper Lausitz counties of Bautzen, Kamenz and Loebau between June and December, that is in 131 of 304 localities. The outcome was that there were 39,674 Sorbs fluent in Sorbian (Odra, Tygodnik, Katowice, No 6, 1949). The attached high count of 143,702 Sorbs must be looked at with

great caution. A "Domowina" response to the official figures of 1946, its own accurate counting of late 1946, made no headway. The incomplete material was kept in archive.

Finally the GDR regime became internally interested in the number of Sorbs and the extent of the Sorbian linguistic area. Through a research commission given to the Sorbian farmer Arnost Cernik, the GDR state secretariat for university and technical school affairs in 1955/56 nailed down all persons who knew Sorbian in the rural communities of the officially bilingual kreises. This survey was carried out much like the one of Muka's. There are no data on Sorbian town-dwellers or on Sorbs outside the officially bilingual kreises or outside of Lausitz. for that matter. Furthermore, the base material, owned by the GDR Academy of Sciences, has not been published to this day. For all that, Cernik did nail down 71,932 Sorbs (Zmeskal, op. cit.).

If one now takes into account circa 35 of all towns in Lausitz and the Lausitz kreises administratively not classified as bilingual areas, one gets a minimum estimate of 90,000 Sorbs to be sure. That already brings us rather close to the data of 100,000. That may be considered acceptable, though not confined to Lausitz, but for the Sorbs around the world, including those, first of all, who live in the GDR but outside of Lausitz, and then others who have settled in the FRG and West Berlin. Then there are Sorbs in East and West European countries and elsewhere (e.g. in Canada, the United States and Australia). Finally one must not ignore those of Sorbian descent in Texas, United States, among whom at this time a cultural renaissance is making a showing to some degree, which to a modest extent has assumed the contours of a national recollection. Behind it is the Texas Wendish Heritage Society, founded in the last decade (THE GIDDINGS TIMES AND NEWS, No 50, 1979, Giddings, Lee County, Texas, USA, according to Rozhlad, Budysin [Bautzen], 12/1979, p 478).

#### The Sorbs under the GDR Administrative Setup

In the wake of their 1952 territorial reform, the GDR authorities could easily have met the Sorbs' old demand for administratively and territorially uniting the two Lausitz regions, especially since economic aspects governed the restructuring. The Sorbian demand was not honored. The residential region of the Upper Lausitz Sorbs was divided again, the southern part of Upper Lausitz becoming part of Dresden Bezirk, the northern part, together with Lower Lausitz part of Cottbus Bezirk. As bilingual kreises in Dresden Bezirk were defined: Bautzen, Kamenz, Niesky, yet not Bischofswerda and Loebau, where Sorbs live also. The bilingual kreises identified in Cottbus Bezirk were: Calau, Cottbus-City, Cottbus-Kreis, Forst, Guben, Hoyerswerda, Luebben, Spremberg, Weisswasser, but not Senftenberg, which also has Sorbs, though only a few.

There can be no doubt that divisions and partitions, no matter what, have unfavorable effects on the population groups affected. The Sorbs are divided in several respects: administratively-territorially, linguistically by two standard languages, and in religious and church affiliation terms--Evangelical Church Berlin-Brandenburg for Lower Lausitz Silesian Evangelical Church for former Prussian Upper Lausitz, Evangelical-Lutheran Land Church Saxony for Saxon Upper Lausitz, Roman Catholic Church with two eparchies (Dresden-Meissen Diocese and the Apostolic Administration Goerlitz of the Breslau Archdiocese, to which was added only in 1821 the only large, overwhelmingly Sorbian Catholic parish of Wittichenau, withdrawn from the Meissen Diocese).



When other factors join such partitions, there is a chance that the national substance, in this case that of the Sorbian minority, is attacked. Such factors, mainly material in kind, evolved since the 1950's and have forcibly destroyed, without waiting for an organic developmental process, grown Sorbian, mainly peasantry, structures and thereby eliminated cornerstones of the Sorbian ethnic group. One factor was the collectivization of agriculture, another one the industrialization of Lausitz, the settling of refugees from former East Germany, and then also the communist subversion of "Domowina," in which, and in the activities of which, most Sorbs had no longer any confidence since 1951 at the latest. Collectivization led to an alienation from what had, as a second instance, been rated as sacred for a millenium, the landed property.

### Industrialization and Its Dangers

Lignite is the only natural energy source available to the GDR economy. Enormous deposits are in both Lausitzes. The start of mining these deposits in the last century soon was bound to lead to a great Germanizing effect against the Sorbs, mainly in the northern, Prussian, Upper Lausitz. At the latitude of the town of Spremberg, a denationalization wedge spread from east to west toward Spremberg, adumbrating a cutting in two of "Sorbian Lausitz". An immigration of German workers "thinned out" the Sorbian territory in the industrial regions, as far as the Sorbian population proportion was concerned. Ever declining proportions became absorbed in certain zones fairly fast by a numerically overwhelming German element.

During the 1950's and 1960's the GDR pushed for some sort of second industrialization of Lausitz, consolidated in the last decade, while still not concluded. This industrialization primarily affected all of Lausitz, secondarily other parts of the GDR, and this in several sectors: economic, sociostructural, in population policy, ideological and cultural. The spread of the energy industry pulled other industrial sectors along.

Already in 1952, the start of production in the large Lauchhammer coking plant near Senftenberg, on the periphery of binational Lausitz, introduced a structural deformation in the region. Lignite mining was boosted greatly, as in the lignite plant of Knappenrode (formerly Werminghoff, Hoyerswerda Kreis). Three years later they laid the basis for destroying the center of the Lusatian heather by erecting the large Schwarze Pumpe lignite combine between Spremberg and Hoyerswerda. Then, early in the 1960's, came the large power plants of Luebbenau (Luebben Kreis) and Vetschau (Calau Kreis) and the building starts of the power plants of Boxberg and Trattendorf (Weisswasser Kreis and Spremberg Kreis). Lignite mining was greatly expanded near Nochten (Weisswasser Kreis). A large motor vehicle combine (Cottbus) was set up as part of the infrastructure, and in terms of subsequent industrial installations way into the 1970's were set up or expanded the Weisswasser glass-works, the Wetro fire-clay plant (Bautzen Kreis), the large chemical fiber combine Guben, the aluminum works Lauta (Hoyerswerda Kreis), the Cottbus textile combine, The Schwarzheide synthetic works (Senftenberg Kreis) and the Neustadt farm machinery combine (Sebnitz Kreis), with large parts of the works located in Bautzen Kreis (Bautzen, Bischofswerda, Kirschau, Neukirch, Seitschen, Singwitz, Sohland, Wilthen). Then there came also expansions of smaller industrial units. The 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan furthermore brought to a head an industrial concentration. A complex economy, thus far of an unknown extent in Lausitz, arose within a relatively brief

time span. For all that, in the Lausitz region of Cottbus Bezirk, the energy, fuel, glass, textile, machine construction and chemical industries predominated, in that of Dresden Bezirk, the textile, clothing, glass and the machine and vehicle construction industries. In the agrarian sector, the cooperative plots were--initially--more and more technicized via the machine-tractor stations, so that today an industrialized mode of production, likewise complex in structure, predominates.

Eleven villages fell prey till 1973 to postwar industrialization: eight to lignite production, three to the construction of two reservoirs feeding a power plant. All localities with population totals of slightly above one thousand (one third of them Sorbs) were in Upper Lausitz in the two bezirks referred to, two with Sorbian and German inhabitants in Bautzen Kreis, seven with a higher proportion of Sorbian inhabitants in Hoyerswerda Kreis, and one village each without Sorbs in Niesky Kreis and Senftenberg Kreis. These events did not hit the Sorbian parts in their substance, to be sure, which might also have applied to industrialization per se, had it proceeded more slowly, grown organically, that is, and, secondly, had the Sorbs remained "by themselves." Neither of it was the case, however. Through the influx of German labor the binational kreises were further saturated with foreigners. If one looks at the 14 kreises listed above (excluding Senftenberg) in their status since the 1952 territorial reform, one finds a heavy influx. It must also be taken into account that the population in Lusatia also grew in those years when many people from the GDR--including the Sorbian area surveyed--emigrated or fled to the FRG and West Berlin, even if the population growth in Lausitz was weaker at that time than after the wall was built in the summer of 1961.

Between 1939 and 1946 the population figure in the 14 Lausitz kreises grew from 790,000 to circa 855,000, an increase of a goodly 8 percent. (At Guben and Forst, the statistical data were reduced by an estimated 40,000 inhabitants for 1939, assumed for the boroughs on the left bank of the Neisse and included in the statistics). In 1950 the population figure had already reached 881,200 and, after temporarily levelling off (1955: 865,400) climbed to 903,812 by 1964 (census). The 1971 census came to 933,860 inhabitants, and with forcible immigration continuing, it produced exactly 945,458 people by 1978, including circa 1,700 due to natural increase between 1971 and 1977. Thus between 1939 and 1978, within nearly 40 years, there was a circa 20-percent population increase. Hoyerswerda Kreis had the greatest increase (65,000 people), followed by Cottbus-City (42,000), Calau (22,000), Guben (possibly 20,000) and Weisswasser (13,000). Declines came in the kreises of Forst, Cottbus-Kreis and Spremberg. The population of Bischofswerda Kreis stayed even, and the increase in the other five kreises lay between 1,000 and 8,000.

Whereas for the 1971-1977 period the number of natural increase is inconsequential, it is different for the 1955-1971 period. Within the increase by 86,460 people the natural increase was 63,376, so that the number of immigrants came "only" to circa 5,000. Data for the natural population growth in the area surveyed are not available for the years (1939) 1945 to 1954 from the GDR. However, in the Soviet zone of occupation there was no birth surplus till 1948, but there were rather high mortality rates (1946: 12.4; 1947: 5.9; 1948: 2.4 per thousand), which were then, starting in 1949 (till 1954) in turn balanced out in the GDR at most by an ample average four per thousand. The officially

termed biligual territory hence was and is an immigration region, first of needs for the refugees and the displaced and later, from the mid-1950's on at the latest, systematically within the scope of productive force development, for German technical workers. (The number of Polish-Slavic guest workers added in the 1970's is small and can be left aside here. They might possibly even rather support the Sorbian element.)

#### "Domowina" as Executrix of SED Goals

Statistically speaking, the Sorbian element has again been massively "thinned out" in Lusatia. "Domowina"--as well as individual Sorbs who did not have much use for it--as early as mid-1955 recognized the danger approaching the Sorbian ethnic group. Pressured by many of its members, including leading functionaries, as well as by the non-organized Sorbian public, "Domowina" was forced to announce to the SED regime its grave concerns about the industrialization resolutions passed by the Fourth SED Congress (spring 1954) and the Third SED Conference in March 1956, primarily with regard to the "Schwarze Pumpe" project ("Geschichte der Sorben," op. cit., pp 156 f). To "strengthen 'Domowina' ideologically," Wilhelm Koenen, member of the SED Central Committee and secretary of the National Council of the National Front, was set up by propaganda as a "friend of the Sorbs." "Domowina" had to relent and concede to see to it that the industrialization plans would not be interfered with. For that purpose it sponsored recruiting and instruction campaigns, approving of the regime, among the Sorbs, lasting for months.

Still, the debate has by no means been squelched to this day. Spectacular activities by "Domowina" for preserving the Sorbian substance in all of Lusatia, with abundant financial support from GDR authorities, have failed. Then there also is the problem of a more or less voluntary departure of members of the Sorbian intelligentsia from Lausitz and that of social restructuring. A people of farmers became one of industrial, craft and rural workers within 20 years. Between 30 and 50 percent of the Sorbs, depending on kreises, today are working in the industrial and construction sectors ("Geschichte der Sorben," op. cit., pp 249 f.) There they can normally not use their vernacular, with their national alienation resulting. Even in agricultural production cooperatives the lingua franca not rarely is German due to the influx of German technical workers. Lower Lausitz is affected especially hard. There parts of the Sorbian weekly, NOWY CASNIK, appear now and then in German (NEUE ZEITUNG, Cottbus).

Cultural activities by "Domowina" cannot fully mitigate the deficiencies referred to because Sorbian cultural activities in all fields are fully integrated into the SED's "socialist cultural program" with its ideological commitment, for which reason it does not find total acceptance among the Sorbs. There is no longer a deliberate Germanization of Sorbs supported by official authorities. Along with the industrialization, however, the authorities have taken, especially within the last 10 years, restrictive measures against the Sorbs. No longer does it make sense today to speak of two officially bilingual bezirks and 12 bilingual kreises. And this precisely is revealed, among other things, by the maps mentioned at the beginning of this article.

## Restrictive Administrative Measures

In the twelve kreises concerned one has started bit by bit in the last decade to have the "kreis councils" decide, without asking the population, which communities and localities should be considered bilingual, where the Sorbian element, in other words, is to receive full consideration for its identity. That pertains to recognizing the Sorbian language as an official language at state institutions as well as to bilingual city-limit signs, to pick out but two examples. In view of the fact that in none of the 12 kreis councils the Slavic minority has a local majority, its chances, formally speaking, are poor. Yet since the SED, on the other hand, is pretending to be an agent of Sorbian affairs, it appears as a pro-Sorbian, tactically mollifying force against attempts of restrictions that are all too massive and conspicuous. And the SED is in the majority in all "kreis councils."

In any case, the restrictive local policy in recent years has brought it about that as far as the state is concerned there are only 170 communities with 446 localities left that are explicitly classified as bilingual. Most of them are in the kreises of Bautzen (49 communities and 230 localities), Hoyerswerda (36 and 59), Cottbus-Kreis (30 and 46), and Kamenz (8 and 35). In the kreises of Forst, Guben and Luebben the number of communities or localities is below five respectively. The other kreises have more.

In fact there are still many notable residential places inhabited by Sorbs today. If one compares the repeatedly mentioned map sketches (the mixed national region and the "Domowina" kreis associations and groups), one can readily see there are places with "Domowina" groups not rated as binational; vice versa, there are others that are binational but have no "Domowina" groups. A total of 272 "Domowina" groups have been identified (Status: October 1977). There are 17 localities hosting "Domowina" groups without being accepted as bilingual. In turn there are 205 officially bilingual localities where "Domowina" could not gain a foothold by setting up local groups, most of them in Bautzen Kreis. This large number especially suggests what many Sorbs, Catholics as well as Evangelical, think of "Domowina's" tilting toward the SED. Yet it also becomes evident that there are in fact nearly 500 places with Sorbian inhabitants or noteworthy Sorbian population proportions. To that must be added a hardly accountable number of places where Sorbs are settled in insignificant proportions, even singly. The gazeteer for bilingual kreises in Dresden and Cottbus Bezirk ["Ortsnamenverzeichnis der zweisprachigen Kreise der Bezirke Dresden und Cottbus"], Bautzen 1969, contains some 1,400 places, all almost exclusively settled by Sorbs.

From these facts can the present settlement area of the Sorbs be quite well established, with the help of the map sketches referred to, if both are combined and supplemented, as Sketch 1 drawn here shows, roughly at least. It suggests a tripartite Sorbian language area. The northern one, along a dividing line from west to east, south of Calau and Forst, runs along a strip between 10 and 20 kilometers wide, without that area being completely devoid of Sorbs. The second, the southern, line of demarcation begins to form slightly north of Hoyerswerda and then also runs from west to east along the Senftenberg-Weisswasser line.

Whereas the northern segment is dependent on Germanization, it must be pointed out with regard to the southern line of demarkation that the strong influx is also evident there, but equally much, simultaneously, the industrial upheaval of the region. That is to say, the at this time uninhabitable land is covered with lignite pits and dumps and in part now also with nature protection zones.. More or less by chance, along with the dissections, the three main linguistic or dialect areas are also separated and isolated from each other: in the north, the Sorbian standard language of Lower Lausitz, in the south, that of Upper Lausitz, and in between, the narrow zone of the many Sorbian dialects. In practice, this means a weakening of direct linguistic communication, either at the expense of Sorbian as such or for the great benefit of strengthening the two standard languages at the expense of the "transitional dialects."

### The Sorbian Core Region--A Catholic Enclave

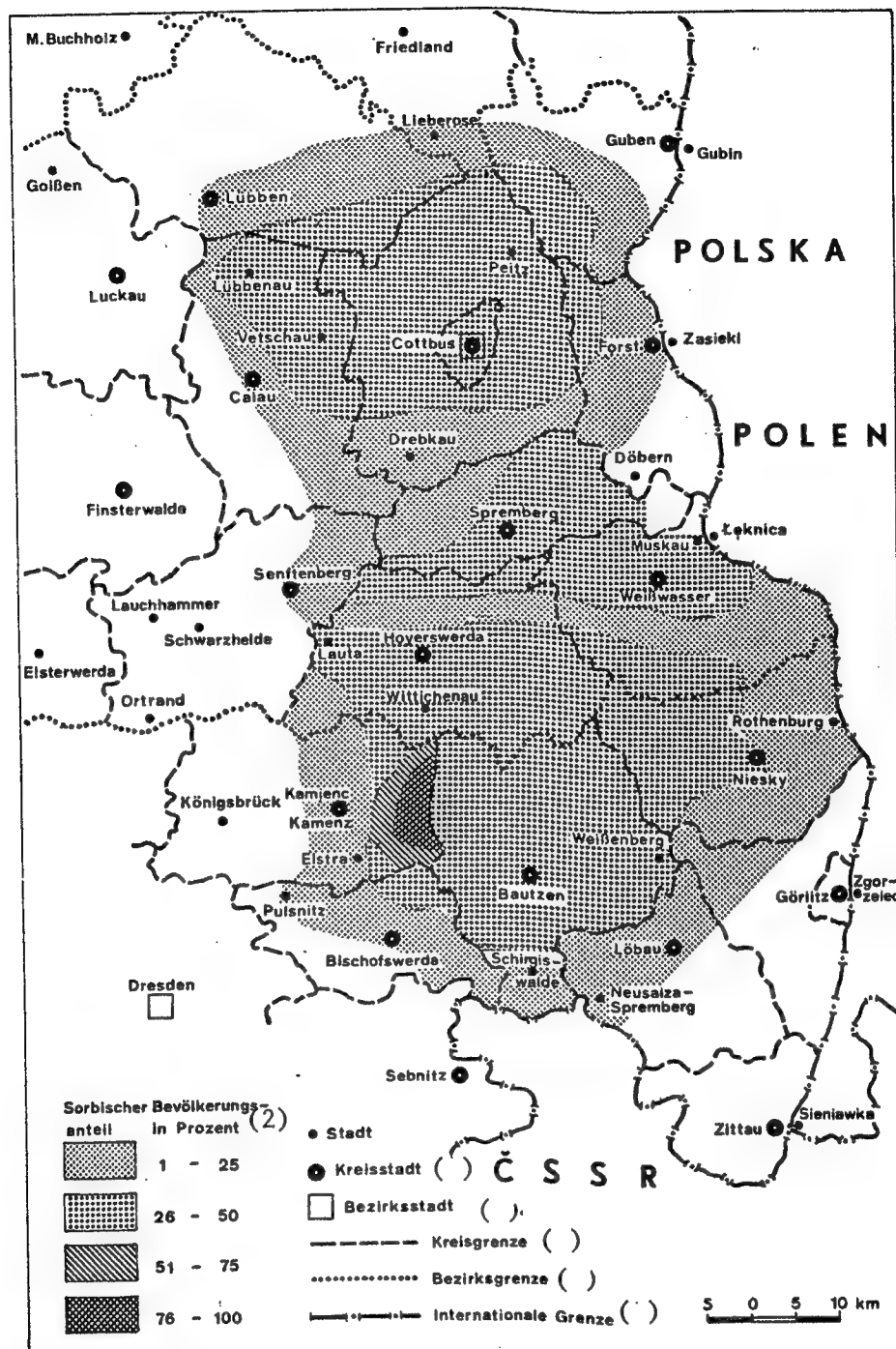
Although no accurate data are at this time available in percentage terms about the given local or regional proportion of the Sorbian language for the Lusatian region specifically, we still mean to present here--as an exception--concrete contemporary data for a region. This exception is possible for a region located within the Hoyerswerda-Kamenz-Bautzen triangle, i.e. in the Catholic Sorbian Lausitz. In that area the Sorbian identity is the most solid. (We know a similar example pertaining to the Cassubians in Poland, where only the Catholic Cassubians have fully maintained their national identity to this day through their church affiliation, not so, however, the Protestant Cassubians.)

There have been nearly 40 villages up to the present in the Catholic sector of Kamenz Kreis, with Sorbs enjoying the plurality or the majority, in some cases reaching one hundred percent, and where the language of communication is Sorbian even with the German neighbors settled there--mainly on the jobs of the production cooperatives there. The barely 40 villages belong to eight political communities (see Sketch 2) with 7,864 inhabitants and an average 80-percent of Sorbs in 1964. These data by and large agree with those from the Catholic Church: 1979 circa 7,900 Catholics, among whom nearly 7,000 Sorbs, in the four parishes of Crostwitz, Ralbitz, Nebelschuetz and Ostro--the parish boundaries not coinciding with the official communal boundaries. Those eight political communities--Panschwitz-Kuckau (80 percent Sorbs), Raeckelwitz (75 percent), Nebelschuetz (63 percent), Ostro (a goodly 70 percent), Schoenau (barely 70 percent), Rosenthal (91 percent), Crostwitz (97 percent), Ralbitz (97 percent) have been affiliated since late 1975 in the Panschwitz-Kuckau communal association (Rozhlad, Budysin [Bautzen], 10/1976, pp 361 ff.) which, for its population structure, has to be called Sorbian and Catholic. Conspicuously, in nearly one third of all the localities, i.e. in eleven villages, "Domowina" did not manage to set up local groups. "Domowina" protagonists from these villages belong to local groups of larger villages, so that now and then there are relatively strong groups. But then there are again weaknesses in attending "Domowina" meetings and paying membership dues. Already the kreis assembly and Landtag elections in 1946 got the SED in Kamenz Kreis the lowest vote of all Saxon kreises (46 percent).

This basic mood is still the same. It comes out of the conservative Catholic mentality of the Sorbian population in the region. This attitude, for one thing,

radiates into the Sorbian-Catholic area of the kreises of Bautzen and Hoyerswerda and in its national components also affects parts of the neighboring Evangelical Sorbs, who however in no locality exceed 50 percent of the population. Only up to 20 percent of the Sorbs there are Catholic. Catholic Sorbian Lausitz, however, is the core terrain of the Sorbs and fundamentally opposes the denationalization of the Sorbian people which is bound to be furthered by the materialization and profanation of consciousness, by disparaging ideal values in the aftermath of the modern and industrial consumer society. In conclusion it may be stated that there is indeed a binational Lausitz of Sorbian and German citizens, each with their own national consciousness; that there is a bilingual Lausitz in that the Sorbs normally are fluent in and use two media of communication, their Sorbian mother tongue and German, while the German population parts in Lausitz are almost always monolingual. The population distribution shows that a Sorbian linguistic region continues to exist which, however, is permanently in danger of being further confined and of hardening into three linguistic islands, while Catholic Sorbian Lausitz is not threatened in its survival. The exploitation of the lignite deposits and the industrialization of Lausitz are visibly moving into a border area that can hardly be punctured. This is also going to stop further German influx sooner or later, so that future chances do remain for the Sorbian ethnic group.

SKIZZE 1 **DAS SORBISCHE SIEDLUNGSGEBIET** <sup>(1)</sup> (Stand 1980)

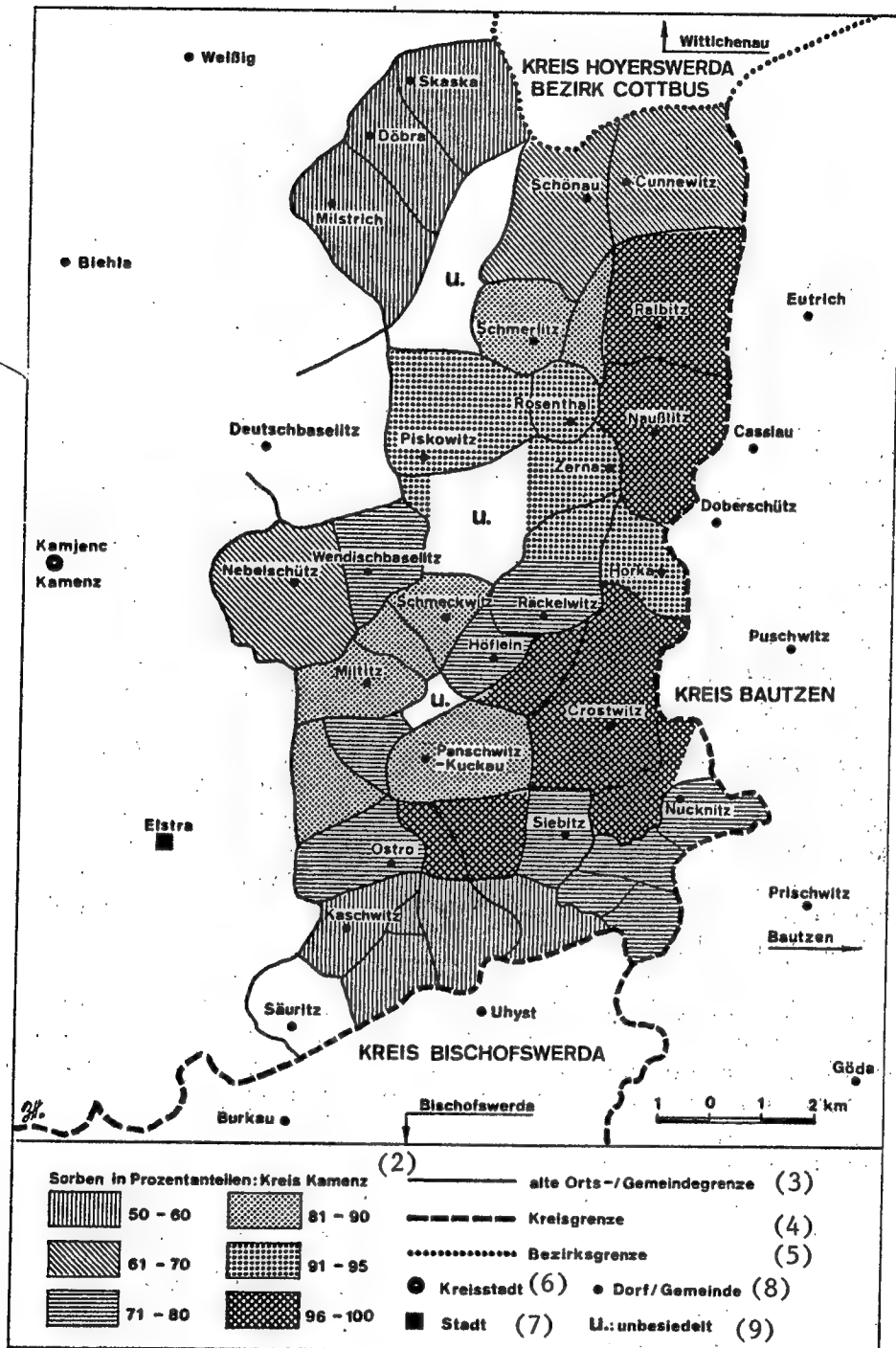


## KEY:

1. Diagram 1: Sorbian settlement region: 1980 situation
2. Sorb sector of the populace in percent
3. city
4. kreis capital
5. bezirk capital
6. kreis boundary
7. ezirk boundary
8. international border



## SORBISCHES KERNGEBIET (1) (annähernd, Stand 1980)



## KEY:

1. Diagram 2: Sorbian Central Region, approximate 1980 situation
2. Sorb populace in percent: Kamenz kreis
3. former local/parish boundary
4. kreis boundary
5. bezirk boundary
6. kreis capital
7. city
8. town/parish
9. unsettled



GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIOLOGISTS INTERVIEWED ON ROLE OF EDUCATION, TRAINING

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Mar 85 p 10

[Interview with Prof Dr Manfred Loetsch, Prof Dr Artur Meier, Dr Herbert Hoerz by Brigitte Hering, of the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND staff, date and place not given: "With Imagination, Initiative, Industry and Tenacity"]

[Text] The 4th sociology congress of the GDR on "Social Dynamics of Economic Growth," to be held in Berlin from 26 to 28 March will specifically be devoted to the challenges of the scientific-technological revolution to human creativity. Just before the opening of the congress, we talked to sociologists Prof Dr Manfred Loetsch, a member of the academy of social sciences of the SED central committee; Prof Dr Artur Meier, a member of the academy of pedagogical sciences of the GDR and Prof Dr Herbert Hoerz, a philosopher at the academy of sciences of the GDR about which particular questions of our future social development will be raised at the congress; which findings have already been agreed upon and on which issues the debate is still focusing.

[Question] Prof Loetsch, for many years now you have been working on issues dealing with social structure and in particular with the emergence of the working class and the socialist intelligentsia, i.e. with those social forces which are most immediately connected with scientific-technological progress. What new insights have you gained since the third congress in 1980 ?

Profound Changes

[Loetsch] My feeling is that our assessment of a great many social issues dealing with the development of productive forces in the course of the scientific-technological revolution is more exact and differentiated today than it was 5 years ago--the more so since major changes in practice have taken place during that period. Our earlier studies showed that the high level of education and aptitude of the labor force was not being used efficiently enough in some areas as a driving

force for economic growth and that graduates of our universities and specialized schools were not always being employed to the full extent of their capabilities. In the meantime, the economic strategy of the party has resulted in more efficient use of education and training to help accelerate scientific-technological progress in almost all areas.

In some areas, the objective demands on training have increased so rapidly that we cannot by rights speak any longer of being ahead in terms of education—much less far ahead. In fact, in these fields education and training have some catching up to do. This not applies to scientific and technological subjects but also for those sectors of physical production where dynamic progress is taking place as well as for the entire sector of laying the groundwork for and introducing technical innovations. Last but not least this also applies to flanking activities of technology such as service, repair and maintenance and the manufacture of the means of rationalization.

The whole chain of such profound innovative processes as the ones which are connected with microelectronics for example called for new types of training programs which would meet the growing demands and create a new thrust. That is the reason why we are working so diligently and intensively in our country on new job descriptions for many types of skilled labor; on planning the training and refresher programs for engineers and economists and on new curricula, etc. As Erich Honecker underlined at the 9th meeting of the SED central committee, the education of our university students will henceforth give major emphasis to questions of microelectronics, biotechnology, computer-assisted construction and production as well as data processing.

In principle we may say that education and training will attain higher levels generally. At the same time, the structure of social division of labor will result in further differentiation of the objective demands on training as such over a very long period of time—at least as far as we can see ahead at this stage. Quite often, we tend to speak in a rather abstract way of the fact that the scientific-technological revolution calls for a far wider range of skills on the part of the working man in physical and mental production. When we look at this idea more closely, it tells us among other things that the contents of training programs are changing more rapidly than they ever did before.

For many skilled workers, occupational training will become the first step for far greater skills. A new type of skilled worker will eventually emerge who will be able to communicate on an equal basis with the engineer even as far as professional know-how is concerned. These and a great many other questions will be among the ones dealing with the further development of our social structure which we will be discussing at the congress.

[Question] You have done a lot of thinking and writing about scientific creativity, Prof Hoerz. Can creativity really be learned and taught ?

[Hoerz] Any creative achievement is original and unique. It cannot be repeated but only emulated by someone else. But creativity cannot be learned by mere emulation. There are experiences made by explorers and inventors, however, which can be passed on and there are objective and subjective conditions of creativity that may be observed and taken into consideration. Among these, in my view, is the fact that man is full of curiosity; that he is full of wonder about the contradictions between theory and practice and based on these works out new theoretical problems. The capacity to formulate problems can be developed at an early age and curiosity can be enhanced and taught systematically.

As soon as problems have been stated, it takes diligence and perseverance to solve them. Today we have a large arsenal of methods suited to problem solving. It is important to acquaint the potential inventors and discoverers at a very early age with these heuristic methods which help an individual in gaining insights. If students are systematically encouraged to look for ways of solving problems on their own, they can obtain the necessary experience to arouse their own creativity.

Another aspect I consider important is that students must learn in time how to overcome difficulties. Quite a few people with ideas run afoul of reality. The history of science demonstrates that new ideas are never accepted immediately and that it always takes a struggle to get them accepted. This calls for industry, tenacity, self-confidence and persuasiveness. And last but not least it calls for recognizing and supporting special talents and aptitudes at the proper time.

#### Solid Polytechnical General Education

[Question] In the United States and in other countries, the educational reforms instituted as a result of great social pressure in the sixties and seventies are currently being rolled back and old elitist concepts are being reactivated in their place. Prof Meier, how would you say can we effectively combine the advantages of our educational system with the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution ?

[Meier] With the help of a solid general education and a practice-oriented special education we have created a good base for mastering the scientific-technological revolution under socialist conditions in a humane and efficient manner. An elite of technocrats would not help us cope with it. In my view, the elitist concepts prevailing in the United States are not merely a reaction to the scientific-technological revolution but above all an expression of the widening neo-conservative ideology of government there.

At a time when science and technology are playing the dominant role in the workplace and in all social areas, it is all the more important for an entire young generation to receive a thoroughgoing general science education again and again--and that means every single member of it regardless of sex or social position. The goal which our schools have set for themselves, after all, is to afford every young person the best possible start in life. In that sense, one may say that we have a very modern view of education with the help of which we place scientific-technological progress on a broad social footing. We are not imparting not just any kind of general education but a polytechnical one--for everyone. That is a major virtue of our society.

It goes without saying that we are now continuing to develop the content of general education and creating new methods which go toward arousing the creativity of the younger generation to a greater extent. But our job also is to develop the practical objective, technical talents of the younger generation "with as few losses as possible," as it were. When I think of microelectronics for example with its specific demands on the worker, then we must not allow virtues such as discipline, reliability and accuracy to get lost but must develop them systematically. We want to develop the entire spectrum of aptitudes by supporting not only those young people who know how to use their hands but also those who know how to use their head. Those are the aims of our ideas for further intensification of education.

[Loetsch] I do believe that elitist support of aptitudes can actually result in spectacular successes in the short run. But in the long run it is certainly more effective to develop outstanding talents on the basis of a solid education for all because one can then draw on the aptitude potential of an entire nation. But exceptional talent does not develop spontaneously in the sense of "class will always come out on top." Of course such talents can best prosper in an environment of exceptionally creative people. That is the reason why I believe that the best support one can give to a talented individual in science is to let him study with the top man in his field, to draw up individual development plans for him and permit him to tackle responsible assignments as early as possible.

[Meier] At the congress we will focus on the social conditions under which creativity and higher performance levels can best be achieved. This means that we will be discussing the results of our investigations into working and living conditions; the impact which the performance principle and socialist competition as well as the work climate have had on actual performance. We will also be looking at our findings regarding political and professional motivation in the workplace and regarding attitudes toward scientific-technological progress.

## Advances in Research for Tomorrow's Technologies

[Question] Based on your experience, where would you say the greatest reserves for scientific creativity can be found ?

[Hoerz] Our most important task is to focus our energies on the research areas which will determine the future in order to advance toward tomorrow's key technologies. In view of the increasing complexity of the research work involved, it is becoming increasingly important to develop the ability to engage in teamwork because one of our largest reserves may be found without a doubt in interdisciplinary activity. This, however, presupposes a high level of research in the individual scientific discipline. For the individual scientist as well as the basic collectives this means that they must measure their own work in a systematic and objective manner against international trends both as regards scientific progress and performance.

In my view, the main issue therefore is the work climate; the exchange of opinion; the political attitude; the freeing of the leading thinkers from a great many routine duties so that they can engage in actual research work; competitive performance and the courage to take risks. In this context, it is not only useful to communicate the experiences of the most exceptional members of the group but also of those who did not achieve the desired result so that mistakes are not needlessly repeated. All in all, the most important goal in science—as throughout our society—is to achieve a greater sense of personal responsibility for our continued progress.

9478

CSO: 2300/355

17 May 1985

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONOMIC FACTORS TEMPER CITY GROWTH

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German No 10 (1985) 5 Mar 85 pp 299-302

[Article by Siegfried Grundmann: "Do Our Cities Have to Keep On Growing?"]

[Excerpt] With the development of the capitalist type of production, a new epoch began in the history of cities. They became centers of productive work because of the development of urban industry. The social wealth consumed in the city began from that point on, in terms of exchange value, to be produced there in ever-increasing quantities. This was the material basis of a stormy and relentless urban growth. Nothing could be done to prevent this development, even though there was much "vociferous opposition" to it.

The situation remained similar over the centuries, down to our own times. Cities flourished even where there was concrete planning with restrictive regulations. For example, in 1935 a general plan was drawn up to alter the structure of Moscow, in accordance with which the size of the population was not to exceed 5 million. By 1982, however, according to official statistics, Moscow already had a population of 8,396,000 inhabitants. Whether planned or unplanned: the growth of many cities and urban populations is an irrefutable fact, also for the GDR.

This, however, does not obviate the need to raise the question of "whether it is wise to allow a city to grow without moderation." On the contrary: this problem has never been as acute as it is today. This question must also be raised when the growth of a city or of cities should prove to be an economic necessity. And this question is important for the formation of the developed socialist society in the GDR because, as Erich Honecker pointed out in the 9th session of the Central Committee of the SED, "an intensive, expanded reproduction has become a determining factor for the growth of our national economy."

In the years in which our task was above all the building of new plants, including some in new locations, additional jobs came into existence; a rapid growth in population was an every-day occurrence in many cities in our country. The population of Hoyerswerda increased tenfold (1950: 7,365; 1981: 71,124 residents) in connection with the expansion of the Schwarze Pumpe Combine. The expansion of the Petrochemical Combine had similar consequences for the city of Schwedt (1950: 6,506; 1981: 52,291 residents). The expansion

of large plants also caused similar spurts in growth for such cities as Riesa, Rostock, Halle-Neustadt, Leinefelde, and Ludwigsfelde.

Now, however, the main task for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society is the intensification of social production. "With the help of science, engineering, and technology, we must try to achieve a high rate of increase in labor productivity, saving workplaces, and decisively improving the ratio between expenditures and results. The scientific-technical factor is the main factor underlying intensification..." (SED programme.) Hand in hand with this goes the improved utilization of what is already available, including the more efficient use of available production funds, of the infrastructure, and of social labor wealth. Aside from very few exceptions, this would do away with the economic necessity for a continued rapid increase in the size of cities.

Large cities have a special role to play in the process of intensification. The "Schwedt Initiative," which achieved a remarkable increase in production with labor spared from within the plant itself, is also a challenge to the plants and institutions located here. Large urban areas are preferred locations for those industries which generate significant momentum for scientific and technical progress that is relevant to society as a whole: machine engineering, electrical engineering, and the electronics industry. In 1983, 14.9 percent of the GDR's gross industrial production was produced in the capital city of Berlin. The urban metropolises are extremely important centers for research and education. Approximately 55 percent of students in higher education are located in the cities of Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig and Halle/Saale, although these cities contain only 15 percent of the total population. From research as well, we expect not so much extensive development, but rather an increase in efficiency. Large cities are also administrative centers which in the future will depend on scientific and technical progress, thereby requiring fewer workers to get the job done.

The importance today of the question of the appropriate rate of growth for cities results also from the particular demographic situation in our country. Since 1979, the GDR has experienced a surplus of births over deaths, but this is not sufficient to increase the population. This means that in the present demographic situation, each city can only grow at the expense of other cities and communities. The fact that very high migration surpluses also cause higher than average birth surpluses in certain cities is also related to this, since it is primarily young people who move. Earlier migration surpluses or losses even continue to have an effect when the causes of movement to or away from an area have been eliminated.

Therefore, there are good reasons for having raised the initial question. However, we do not have just to raise questions and advocate goals: the necessary accents have already been placed for the continued development of our country. Since intensification is a programmatic goal of the SED, this is followed by the reproduction of productive forces, especially in already existing locations, with a few exceptions such as the exploitation of domestic raw materials or the development of the shipping and harbor economy. With continued improvements in working and living conditions, but also in connection

with efforts in the direction of a richer intellectual and cultural life, the attractiveness of smaller cities and villages is increasing. A factor of decisive importance in this regard is the resolution of the housing question as a social problem by 1990. This requires an enormous expansion in housing construction and in particular the comprehensive modernization of housing, also in the smaller cities and in the villages. This would contribute to a greater loyalty to the place of residence on the part of the population and thus to increased stability in the structure of our settlements and productive forces.

In terms of society as a whole, however, the larger cities will continue to play a crucial role. Under exceptional circumstances a certain amount of growth may even be necessary for some cities, particularly for the capital city of Berlin. But generally speaking, quantitative urban growth is no longer a goal. From this point on, it is no longer advisable anywhere to allow "a city to grow without moderation."

12792

CSO: 2300/348



HUNGARY

## OFFICIALS ELECTED AT XIII PARTY CONGRESS IDENTIFIED

### Closing Session of Congress

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 85 pp 4, 5

[Text] The congress began its closing session at 4:00 pm [on 28 Mar 85], with the participation of the invited guests. Janos Kadar, presiding, announced:

"The congress has held its closed session, at which it heard and approved the report of the Appeals Committee and elected a Central Committee and a Central Control Committee. Thereafter the Central Committee held its first session and elected its executive organs and officials, the chairmen and members of the committees attached to Central Committee, and the chairmen of the Central Committee working groups. It also appointed the heads of the Central Committee departments, and the heads of the partry institutions.

"The Central Control Committee likewise held its session. It elected a chairman, secretary, and the members of its secretariat."

Janos Kadar requested Sandor Gaspar to outline the decisions.

### Members of the MSZMP Central Committee

Georgy Aczel, worker, director general of the MSZMP Central Committee's Social Sciences Institute;

Albert Antaloczy, economist, first secretary of the Komarom Megye MSZMP Committee;

Gabor Apati-Nagy, chief zootechnician, deputy chairman of the Nagyszenas 6 October Agricultural Cooperative;

Antal Apro, worker, retired president of the National Assembly;

Tibor Baranyai, worker, secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions;

Valeria Benke, worker, chairwoman of the TARSADALMI SZEMLE editorial board;

Frigyes Berecz, worker, director general of the BHG [Budapest Telecommunication Equipment Factory] Enterprise;

Janos Berecz, official, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Istvan Bonyai, worker, motor vehicle polisher and painter at the Hatvan plant of the No 6 Volan Enterprise

Gabor Borbely, teacher, secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee;

Sandor Borbely, worker, national commander of the Workers' Guard;

Janos Brutyo, worker, retired chairman of the MSZMP Central Control Committee;

Robert Burgert, agricultural engineer, director general of the Babolna Agricultural Combine;

Judit Csehak, MD, deputy premier;

Istvan Cserhati, MD, rector of Szeged Medical University;

Mrs Ferenc Cservenka, worker, retired first secretary of the Pest Megye MSZMP Committee, vice president of the National Assembly;

Lajos Czinege, farm worker, deputy premier;

Gabor Deak, worker, first secretary of the Budapest XIII District MSZMP Committee;

Laszlo Deak, worker, miner at the Mecsek Ore Mining Enterprise;

Mrs Lajos Duschek, worker, president of the National Hungarian Women's Council;

Lajos Faluvegi, official, deputy premier, chairman of the National Planning Office;

Gyorgy Fejti, university professor's assistant, first secretary of the Borsod Megye MSZMP Committee;

Jeno Fock, worker, retired premier;

Mrs Fodor nee Katalin Birges, worker, first secretary of the Bekes Megye Council of Trade Unions;

Sandor Gaspar, worker, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions;

Janos Geczi, teacher, first secretary of the Nograd Megye MSZMP Committee;

Mrs Laszlo Glanz, educator, principal of the Felsoszolnok general school;

Karoly Grosz, worker, first secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee;

Ferenc Gubicza, farm unit manager, chairman of the Csopak Vicinity Agricultural Cooperative;

Mrs Andras Gyebrozski, worker, director of the Budapest Habselyem [Milanese Silk] Knitwear Factory;

Istvan Gyongyosi, worker, secretary general of the Construction, Lumber and Building Materials Industry Workers' Trade Union;

Ferenc Havasi, worker, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Csaba Hamori, official, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee;

Istvan Hars, worker, president of Hungarian Radio;

Karoly Herczeg, worker, secretary general of of the Iron, Metal, and Electric Power Industry Workers' Trade Union;

Zsuzsa Hollan, MD, medical director of the National Institute of Hematology and Blood Transfusion;

Janos Hoos, professor, state secretary of the National Planning Office;

Gyula Horn, worker, a party employee;

Ede Horvath, worker, director general of the Raba Hungarian Railroad Car and Machine Factory;

Istvan Horvath, jurist, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Jozsef Horvath, worker, mechanic at the Csepel Automobile Factory;

Istvan Huszar, librarian, director of the Party History Institute attached to the MSZMP Central Committee;

Endre Jokay, worker, toolmaker at the Electrical Insulation and Plastics Factory;

Gyorgy Juscsak, agronomist, director of the Matraalja State Farm;

Janos Kamara, worker, state secretary of the Ministry of the Interior;

Laszlo Kapolyi, design technician, minister of industry;

Laszlo Karakas, worker, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Party Management and Administration Department;

Imre Katona, worker, secretary of the Presidential Council;

Istvan Katona, teacher, a party employee;

Janos Kadar, worker, first seceretary of the MSZMP;

Gyula Kallai, journalist, chairman of the PPF National Council;

Erzsebet Kanya, worker, shift superintendent at the Szekesfehervar Light Metal Works;

Ferenc Karpati, worker, deputy minister of defense, in charge of the Political Main Administration;

Istvan Kiss, sculptor;

Imre Klenovics, farm worker, first secretary of the Somogy Megye MSZMP Committee;

Mihaly Kornidesz, teacher, president of Hungarian Television;

Mihaly Korom, farm worker, a party employee;

Geza Kotai, official, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's International Relations Department;

Laszlo Kovacs, worker, secretary general of the Mining Industry Workers' Trade Union;

Laszlo Koveskuti, worker, chairman of the Communication Equipment Cooperative;

Sandor Lakos, worker, responsible editor of the party journal PARTELET;

Gyorgy Lazar, draftsman, premier;

Pal Losonczi, farm worker, chairman of the Presidential Council;

Janos Lukacs, worker, first secretary of the Baranya Megye MSZMP Committee;

Jozsef Marjai, official, deputy premier;

Laszlo Marothy, agricultural engineer, deputy premier;

Lajos Mehes, worker, retired secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions;

Peter Mod, teacher, permanent representative of the Hungarian People's Republic in UNESCO;

Lajos Morocz, farm worker, state secretary of the Ministry of Defense;

Dezso Nemes, worker, retired director of the Party History Institute attached to the MSZMP Central Committee;

Karoly Nemeth, deputy first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Rezso Nyers, worker, retired director of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, scientific consultant;

Istvan Olah, army officer, minister of defense;

Bela Osztafi, worker, metalworker at the Ozd Metallurgical Works;

Miklos Ovari, teacher, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Lenard Pal, physicist, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Janos Peter, official, retired minister of foreign affairs, vice president of the National Assembly;

Jozsef Ponya, worker, director general of the Paks Nuclear Power Plant;

Imre Pozsgay, teacher, secretary general of the PPF National Council;

Sandor Rajnai, worker, Hungarian ambassador in Moscow;

Peter Renyi, deputy chief editor of NEPSZABADSAG;

Ferenc Revesz, official, retired director of the Budapest Municipal Ervin Szabo Library;

Pal Romany, agricultural engineer, first secretary of the Bacs-Kiskun Megye MSZMP Committee;

Istvan Sarlos, official, president of the National Assembly;

Gyorgy Sikula, worker, first secretary of the Hajdu-Bihar Megye MSZMP Committee;

Istvan Szabo, cropgrower, chairman of the Nadudvar Red Star Agricultural Cooperative, chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives;

Istvan Szabo, worker, first secretary of the Jaszbereny Municipal MSZMP Committee;

Jozsef Szakali, worker, chairman of the Central People's Control Commission;

Zoltan Szepvolgyi, worker, chairman of the Budapest Municipal Council;

Istvan Szlamenicky, worker, chairman of SZOVOSZ [National Federation of Cooperatives];

Ferenc Szucs, official, deputy chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army;

Mrs Istvan Szucs, teacher, first secretary of the Budapest V District MSZMP Committee;

Matyas Szuros, official, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Mrs Imre Takacs, technician, technologist of the Ajka Glass Factory;

Pal Tetenyi, chemist, a party employee;

Mrs Toth nee Maria Kiss, worker, personnel manager of the Minosegi [Quality] Shoe Factory's Nyirbator factory unit;

Istvan Tompe, worker, retired chairman of the State Radio and Television Commission;

Istvan Trombitas, petroleum engineer, director general of the Petroleum and Gas Extracting Enterprise;

Gyorgy Vajda, professor, director of the Electric Power Industry Research Institute;

Laszlo Varga, worker, secretary general of the Hungarian Pioneer Federation's National Council;

Peter Varga, worker, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Public Administration and Administration Department;

Jeno Vancsa, agricultural engineer, minister of agriculture and food;

Peter Varkonyi, official, minister of foreign affairs;

Jozsef Veres, worker, retired minister of labor; and

Peter Veress, official, minister of foreign trade.

#### Members of Central Control Committee

The congress elected a 27-member Central Control Committee. Its members are as follows:

Janos Borbandi, worker, retired premier;

Andras Csillik, official, first secretary of the Budapest XX District MSZMP Committee;

Antal Ernszt, worker, first secretary of the Budapest XXI District MSZMP Committee;

Mrs Lajos Farkas, worker, secretary of the Iron, Metal and Electric Power Industry Workers' Trade Union Central Committee;

Lajos Farkasinszky, teacher, deputy chairman of the Budapest Municipal Council;

Mrs Jozsef Feher, teacher, first secretary of the Budapest I District MSZMP Committee;

Andras Gyenes, worker, chairman of the MSZMP Central Control Committee;

Imre Gyori, worker, chairman of the National Education and Culture Committee;

Mihaly Jasso, worker, secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee;

Ferenc Koszorus, engineer, secretary general of the Railroad Workers' Trade Union;

Arpad Kovacs, agronomist, chairman of the Fot Peace Agricultural Cooperative;

Lajos Krasznai, worker, first secretary of the Pest Megye MSZMP Committee;

Karoly Majoros, teacher, first secretary of the Szolnok Megye MSZMP Committee;

Jozsef K. Papp, worker, retired first secretary of the Tolna Megye MSZMP Committee;

Ferenc Petrak, worker, president of the Leather Industry Trade Union;

Sandor Postas, technician, first secretary of the Debrecen Municipal MSZMP Committee;

Sandor Racz, farm worker, deputy minister of defense;

Lajos Rev, store clerk, chairman of the Industrial Cooperatives National Federation;

Karoly Rumpf, worker, vocational instructor at the Csepel Works;

Sandor Sebes, official, retired first deputy premier;

Imre Somogyi, worker, secretary of the MSZMP Central Control Committee;

Jozsef Suhajda, worker, retired chairman of the Budapest VIII District Council;

Sandor Szerenyi, worker, retired director of the MSZMP Political Academy;

Imre Takacs, official, first secretary of the Fejer Megye MSZMP Committee;

Janos Tausz, official, retired director general of IBUSZ [Touring, Procurement, Travel and Shipping Co. Ltd.];

Gyula Uszta, worker, retired secretary general of the Federation of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists; and

Miklos Zsuffa, engineer, director general of the Nograd Coal Mines Enterprise.

#### Other Officials

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Mar 85 pp 5, 6

[Report: "Party Leadership Elected"]

[Excerpts] Members of Politburo

At its first session, the Central Committee elected its executive organs and officials.

The members of the Politburo are: Gyorgy Aczel, Sandor Gaspar, Karoly Grosz, Ferenc Havasi, Csaba Hamori, Janos Kadar, Gyorgy Lazar, Pal Losonczi, Laszlo Marothy, Karoly Nemeth, Miklos Ovari, Istvan Sarlos, and Istvan Szabo.

Janos Kadar the First Secretary

The Central Committee elected its Secretariat. The party's first secretary is Janos Kadar. The delegates received the announcement with sustained applause.

Karoly Nemeth the Party's Deputy First Secretary

The Central Committee elected Karoly Nemeth the party's deputy first secretary.

#### Members of the Central Committee Secretariat

The members of the Central Committee Secretariat are: Janos Kadar, Karoly Nemeth, Janos Berecz, Ferenc Havasi, Istvan Horvath, Miklos Ovari, Lenard Pal and Matyas Szuros.

#### Committees, Working Groups of Central Committee

The Central Committee has elected its Economic Policy Committee. Ferenc Havasi is the committee's chairman. Its members are: Laszlo Ballai, Tamas Beck, Lajos Faluvegi, Laszlo Gal, Imre Pardi and Pal Tetenyi.

The Central Committee has elected its Agitation and Propaganda Committee.. Its chairman is Janos Berecz. Its members are: Lenard Pal, Judit Csehak, Istvan Hars, Istvan Huszar, Mihaly Kronidesz, Bela Kopeczi, Erno Lakatos, Sandor Lakos, Ferenc Pusztai and Katalin Radics.

The Central Committee has elected the chairmen of its working groups, and has delegated authority to the Politburo to specify the size of the working groups and to confirm the appointment of their members.

The chairman of the Party Building Working Group is Karoly Nemeth.

The chairman of the Economic Working Group is Ferenc Havasi.

The chairman of the Cooperative Policy Working Group is Ferenc Havasi.

The chairman of the Educational Policy Working Group is Lenard Pal.

The chairman of the Youth Policy Committee is Karoly Nemeth.

With appreciation of their services rendered, the Central Committee has relieved the following officials of their posts: Tibor Baranyai, as head of the Party and Mass Organizations Department, due to his election earlier as secretary general of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]; Gyula Horn, as head of the International Relations Department, due to his transfer to another important position; Pal Tetenyi as head of the Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Affairs Department, due to his transfer to another important position; and Istvan Katona as head of the Central Committee's office, in view of his request to retire for reasons of health

#### Heads of the Central Committee Departments

The Central Committee has appointed the heads of its departments.

Erno Lakatos heads the Agitation and Propoganda Department.

Laszlo Ballai heads the Economic Policy Department.



Peter Varga heads the Public Administration and Administration Department.

Miklos Ovari, a secretary of the Central Committee, heads its office.

Geza Kotai heads the International Relations Department.

Istvan Petrovski heads the Party and Mass Organizations Department.

Laszlo Karakas heads the Party Management and Administration Department.

And Katalin Radics heads the Scientific, Public Education, and Cultural Affairs Department.

#### Heads of Party Institutions, Party Press

The Central Committee has appointed the heads of the party institutions and of the party's central press.

Jozsef Szabo is rector of the Political Academy.

Gyorgy Aczel is director general of the Social Sciences Institute.

Istvan Huszar is director of the Party History Institute.

Valeria Benke is chairwoman of the TARSADALMI SZEMLE editorial board.

Sandor Lakos is responsible editor of PARTELET.

The Central Committee will fill at a later date the post of NEPSZABADSAG editor in chief.

#### Central Control Committee's Chairman, Secretariat

The Central Control Committee has likewise held its first session and elected its officials.

Andras Gyenes is the chairman of the Central Control Committee. Imre Somogyi is its secretary.

The members of the Central Control Committee Secretariat are: Janos Borbandi, Mrs Lajos Farkas, Arpad Kovacs, Lajos Krasznai, Ferenc Petrak, Lajos Rev, and Janos Tausz.

1014

CSO: 8125/1272

HUNGARY

RELIGION, RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES, MARXISM

Typical Village World Views

Kecskemet FORRAS in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 24-41

[Article by Istvan Kamaras: "Beliefs, Views and Towers in Workaholia." The place according to the author is "neither a township nor a town" and is "somewhere between Nyiregyhaza and Sopron."]

[Text] "It is in the middle of Lajosmizse, somewhere between Nyiregyhaza and Sopron," the teacher, Mr Kopasz, explained with excitement. The popular culture worker Andor Toro called it "neither a township nor a town," a sort of borderline case. Bela Uveges, a retired group chief of the local council, agreed with both of them but added to the definition of Lajosmizse--quoting Daniel Hatvani--that "this is a shameless settlement; there are places where a village is a village and a city is a city, but this here is a faceless conglomerate." In what follows I will call this large township Nagyhajtas --approximately "Workaholia"--it will soon be apparent why.

The people of Nagyhajtas are "a random collection, in the good sense," explained David Igazvolgyi, the Reformed Church pastor. "Because this place was the puszta--the double meaning of "wasteland" and "unfenced land" is apparently intended--of the city, one could get land cheap, so they came not only from nearby but from Tolna and Baranya, even from northern Hungary." "The family moved here in 1854, when the puszta was being divided up. In a single year the father of my maternal grandfather was robbed by Sandor Rozsa 13 times here. The wolves lurked around here in wintertime then. In order to save their lives people always took an extra horse in wintertime. If the wolves attacked them they would abandon the horse in order to escape," recounted Uncle Sikaros, who is considered a sort of country philosopher. "For 23 years there has been unheard of, great development here. New factories have opened up. New strata have been added to our local society. They come here to work from Pest and the county seat. Relatives have moved in from the remoter farmsteads. New settlements have grown up since the producer cooperatives were formed. My son has skated where the so-called New City is. The peasants are incredibly well off!" continued Reverend Igazvolgyi. What are the people of Nagyhajtas like? According to Pal Sovago, retired station chief and onetime member of the party committee, "Sensible people live in Nagyhajtas, they like to live well, so they work honestly, they produce and shop.

You might call it a trading town for farmers. There is a car in every remote farmstead and you can find professional books in the farmstead homes too." "The people here are better qualified, smarter, more mobile and have more initiative than people elsewhere. The people here are drivers, and many of them live behind high, dark fences," said Antal Babosik, the pharmacist. According to Mr Kopasz, the teacher, people from Transdanubia are much more pleasant. It is as if they had no time for that here, here everyone drives himself. Dr Zadorfalvi finds the people of Nagyhajtas practical and vital. "Sometimes they may cut corners a bit, they are more inclined toward little tricks than people elsewhere." The president of the Rakoczi Producer Cooperative provided a characteristic example: "My tractor drivers took off for Bekes, a good big jump, for a pig. It took them 2 weeks to get to Tatabanya, which is not nearby either. But they won't get paid, you can believe that. In a word, they were grabbing." "Many sorts of people live here, a mixed population. There are good people, clever people and chicken thieves too. They are horse traders for sure. They smell out a trend and do only what is worth while," explained Denes Nyary, the veterinarian, who does not know his patients from the consulting room alone. Emil Kondor, chairman of the Catholic Church council (in civilian life he is a poultry hatcher), put it a little more strongly: "People here are more practical, that's the holy truth, but unfortunately it is also true that here money comes first, at the expense of everything else. People worship Mammon here. What we need here is a little power outage, as Hofi says." The chief of one of the artisan cooperatives sees the situation even more darkly: "They recognize neither God nor man, only that they should have more than their neighbors. They have forgotten about one another. Union, peasant respect, is gone already and worker self-awareness has not yet developed. The old frameworks have broken up, industry has come, and the given word has disappeared." And what does Uncle Sikaros, the village philosopher, think about all this? "These workaholics work here, more than they have to, from dawn to dusk. We are not exactly rich, but we are not poor, as they used to say. Maybe this is why fewer go to church these days too, because they work on Sunday just as they do on free Saturdays."

#### Self-exploitation

Kalman Beleznai, the retired school director, considers this word most suitable to characterize the situation. His contemporary, Reverend Igazvolgyi, who is unshakably optimistic, also emphasizes that not so long ago people died of hunger here. Their grandchildren have bank deposits in the millions. He adds more quietly: "It is true that there are those for whom this great prosperity has been a benefit and those to whom it has done harm. One thing is certain, the people of Nagyhajtas have not gotten as far spiritually as they have materially." Uncle Pista Bolcshazi, president of the Rakoczi Producer Cooperative, thinks they have not gotten as far even materially as they imagine they have, because many start a house twice the size they can afford and then get into trouble. And those who do build lose by it. "They don't see that they've put everything they've earned into it. Production becomes a goal in itself," explains Uncle Pista sadly. On the wall of the president's room even the unusual picture of Lenin hangs his head. As if he were worrying about something. "They stand their ground materially, but there are problems in other areas of life," sighs Bela Uveges, who is still an active member of the party committee despite being retired as a council

leader. "The attitude here is that people are not very interested in the joys or troubles of others. They would rather watch television and not have to adjust to anyone. Get a beautiful house and then nothing." "Whatever stratum of the society of our village I study, they are all materialists, of course not in the sense of being atheists," explains the party secretary of the Freedom Producer Cooperative. "Yes indeed, everybody is driving himself," admits Marton Vono, the town party secretary, "we even go to sleep in front of the TV. If only we could explain this driving with party resolutions. Who would dare say we had to quit?" "I do not know how many cars there are in town, but the number of trailers is over 1,000," recounts Mrs Jenő Balogh, guardian of the riding school. "These are not poor people, only their human contacts are poor," adds her husband, a TV repairman who came here from a "friendlier country", from Kemeneshat, to "these people". Dr Malonyai, chief of the maternity home, thinks that "there is nothing like a community here, only interest groups. One can feel the alienation even among the intellectuals." The council president of the neighboring town, who not long ago was still town KISZ secretary in Nagyhajtas, feels that the driving was at the expense of mental health and agrees with Dr Zadorfalvi that the number of suicides and alcoholics here is much too great. We don't really have Sundays any more, many complain, agreeing with the village philosopher. The cars are there, but few sit in them, and those few only on Sunday afternoon to rush off somewhere briefly with the children. We do not know how to rest, a good many confess, but the offerings are relatively rich, there are plenty of opportunities for foreign exchange vacations, but they do not like to stay away from the animals for more than a week. The rooms they take on Lake Balaton frequently remain empty too. There is a sport hall here, a music school for children, language study opportunities and a theater bus to Pest, but it is hard to move people. "From the cultural viewpoint this town is zero," reports Mr Kopasz, the teacher. "An intellectual experience that people talk about? Alas! If only there were. But wait! There was something. Ipper was here, of course not many met him. But there have not been many like that," Pal Weiner, the school director, shakes his head. Otherwise he is full of memories and experiences, but most of them are from his time as a rural teacher.

Among the intellectual items in short supply the elderly popular culture worker mentions world view, local patriotism and love of the homeland. One of his younger colleagues says they themselves are to blame for this in part. He is convinced that they should stop what they are doing under the heading of popular culture and should talk with the people. According to his colleague they, the professionals, would not be enough for this; without good quality intellectuals and intellectual leaders the few more or less disillusioned enthusiasts are powerless. Andor Toro is dissatisfied primarily with the older leaders, some of whom "took the movement path at the time instead of studying. Now, when they are 50 years old, they have feelings of inferiority. The real intellectuals will not accept them; at most they give them the respect which goes with power." Attila Ottovay, an agricultural engineer who is himself about forty, is dissatisfied with the young leaders because "the new leadership started rejuvenation at any price, what they call KISZization."

At the village meeting in the darkened movie room the young council president handled the slide projector himself, sitting with his back to his people. Many

liked the program but they began to fidget during the 20 minute film reporting on the gymnastic celebration, even the parents who had an interest in it. "They promised we would be done by six, then there is to be a one hour 20 minute popular science lecture. The district chief is speaking from a tape recorder, our own council president is sitting with his back to us. What can this mean except that we don't interest them," grumbled a portly man in the row ahead of me.

I recalled an observation by an older lady teacher: "The majority of the leaders, if not a large majority of them, came here from somewhere and are not our childhood friends." I also recalled a saying of the party secretary of the Freedom Producer Cooperative: "Democracy requires time and money, and it can rather easily come about at the expense of production." And a bitter outburst from Kalman Beleznai: "It is incredible how defenseless people are!" Uncle Pista Bolcschazi did not agree with this but it hurts him very much also that the "KISZized leadership writes off the old people, because humility, together with other antiquated ideals, has gone to the rag fair." He is not satisfied with the quality of the intelligentsia either, although he himself no longer knows whom to regard as an intellectual, since in a recent local party document they christened the personnel officer, who finished the eighth grade, an intellectual. They wrote off an engineer who had finished college and was working as a brigade chief. Uncle Pista thinks that the agrarian intellectuals working close to nature live most harmoniously in Nagyhajtas. It is not rare to find that they have three or four children, although on the average they are not better off materially than laborers with two children. One must also consider the religious people, he says, or rather with our faith in the future, with our "outlook." "Utilitarianism bordering on hedonism is characteristic of Nagyhajtas," Reverend Igazvolgyi reports, but immediately adds: "The horse trader type was always the spokesman here; socialism could not change this. But there was a big change--people got self-respect."

The old people at the social home, arriving wild and rehumanized in a phenomenally short time, have self-respect too, thanks to the micro-climate of this utopian "human island" and to Kornelia Gyokossy, who does not gladly leave the "human island" because she feels that the people of Nagyhajtas "have only short term goals, then the big nothing. I shudder to think, as a party member, that the first generation of socialism looks like this."

"It is laughable, when we castigate capitalism and do not notice that the awareness of people here is determined exclusively by their material existence," complains Dr Malonyai. "Selfishness dominates here," Mrs Ildiko Percsi Ballagi, the teacher leading the pioneer troop, sums up her diagnosis. "What's true is true, there is confusion in heads," announces the village party secretary, characterizing the public thinking. "Some material on public thinking was prepared recently, but it's not worth reading, because it is not about what is here but rather what they imagine about us up above," says Uncle Pista Bolcschazi with discouragement. He also is a member of the town party leadership. I read through it anyway. The first part, talking about the standard of living and way of life, is not so bad, but when it talks about public thinking itself it becomes colorless, beats about the bush, varnish and foam come to the surface. It does not contain statements like the memorable

one of the lady teacher, herself a party member, according to which "We know more about the Andromeda galaxy than about the elementary human things and feelings under our noses."

#### World Views

Second graders were drawing with colored pencils. The title of the drawing was "The World." On 8 of the 20 drawings one could see the Sun, the planets of the solar system and stars. The Sun flickers in the center of the dark pictures; otherwise these surprisingly professional pictures seem inspired by a pre-creation mood. They are surprising, but they are not universes. In 5 drawings the Earth is lost among the other planets. It is difficult to decide whether these pictures reflect the smallness or the self-confidence of the drawers. On one it is both day and night and on two the terrestrial globe appears magnified, from the viewpoint of a space traveler. Six of the eight drawings were drawn by children who get religious instruction. The terrestrial globe appeared in the drawings of the children receiving religious instruction--perhaps by chance, perhaps not. In the ninth drawing, also a child receiving religious instruction, the solar system is between two houses. They seem empty, there is no person nearby. In the tenth drawing is a large city, seen from above, with uniform houses and lots of cars on the roads, not a single person. There are three houses in the eleventh picture, without human beings or sun. In two drawings there are at least flowers even if there are no people. On one a fruit tree with life-giving sun and on the other a house with two flowers on each of its two walls. Perhaps someone planted them? In the fourteenth picture we see the village, with 59 houses and the sun overhead and in the middle a grocery store. Of man, no hide nor hair.

People do appear in five drawings; in two of these the store again is in the center. They are shopping. Or are they consuming? In the third there is a school in addition to the store and three (!) people: one is going into the store and two are going into the school. In the fourth two children are playing badminton; the sun was left out. In the fifth there is the sun, a lake, apple trees and people harvesting fruit. Could we not write above it: "Greetings from Nagyhajtas!"?

I think by now my readers will feel that the change of name was justified, and I support the change with two additional arguments. The first is that in my wanderings I have found that a good number of settlements in Hungary--some smaller or larger--outside of Lajosmizse might take this name. The other is that I consider it possible that "Nagyhajtas" is valid only now, and for a while yet; and I also allow that my glasses are at fault, and I did not see Lajosmizse from Nagyhajtas.

And now I return to the actual subject of my article, which thus far my reader might know only from its title. World view, from two viewpoints, this is what we will be talking about from now on. The subject of my sociographic study is the beliefs and views of two groups--even taken together they are a minority in regard to numbers and perhaps even importance--the Marxists and the Christians. Let me note that I regard them as groups of people who are not opposed to one another, but who have their convictions. The others--the majority in Nagyhajtas--I regard not so much as being without convictions, an apathetic, nihilistic mass, rather only those among whom convictions are more

rare, among whom there are more people who are apathetic, nihilistic and without convictions. They too have their values, they too have some sort of ethos. They too might be the subject of a world view sociology. Someone should get a line on them too, the sooner the better.

## II. The Christians

I saw a dark-eyed little girl. "What nice dark eyes you have," I said to her. The little girl answered self-consciously, defiantly: "God made them so!" "This is still characteristic of Nagyhajtas," relates a member of the party committee. God has two "official" houses in Nagyhajtas, one Catholic and one Reformed Church. The Calvinist church is run down, elderly, but it has breeding. The Roman Catholic church dominates the main square, the church garden--as a worker said--"is a real oasis in the sand." Its parsonage is three times the size of the party building. Nagyhajtas is a Catholic village. The famous, or notorious, parish priest before the war, Canon Keglevics, was a distinguished feature of the community. Those who did not kiss his hand were communists in his eyes. Nor is it by chance that it was not his successors who agitated for the producer cooperative; rather it was the Reformed Church minister, who is the "communist priest" here. Rural Dean, Father Borbandi's Pro Urbe prize is a new development. It bears witness to carefully considered reforms inside the Catholic church. The chief figure of the modern, but not hyper-modern, Stations of the Cross has received the title "The Ugly Christ" from many. Father Borbandi suggested to the complaining faithful that they might try taking up the cross. Room was also given to the saints of Auntie Mihajlik, a shepherd girl turned sculptress, and room was made for a guitar alongside the organ, and for the mystery play alongside the litany. Father Borbandi himself installed the electricity. How many shelters God would find in Nagyhajtas if he came here with Saint Peter is another question. He could hardly beg to be taken up in a cart like the old man of Santanovella, but he could choose among an ample number of cars with various trademarks.

From the other side, in the eyes of the Nagyhajtas party members and communists, there are many types of Christians in Nagyhajtas, even according to their designations--believers, religious people, church goers and idealists. In a characteristic way they are not often called Christians, even by themselves. Rather many among the communists see the Christians as the young party secretary of the Freedom Producer Cooperative, according to whom "The religious people are a narrow stratum of bigoted women. Of course there are families where religion has deep roots, where people with different views are not even admitted. Then there are a few intellectuals, who may be religious by conviction but there are also those who are so because it is chic." According to the elderly leader of the Wheat Ear Producer Cooperative "the 60-70-year old people still go to church, but the changed system has reeducated the young people, they would rather go on an outing. Most no longer register their children for religious instruction. Why should they, there's no profit in it." According to Adam Fegyverneki, the out-going KISZ secretary, religion "is still characteristic for those over 40, and there is a material attraction among the young people, they get a car or a house for a wedding in church." The observation of a popular culture worker comes a good bit closer to the truth. According to him "it is primarily the older people



and those with only a primary education that go to church. The situation was different in the time of Father Feri."

If one compares the composition of the churchgoers to the composition of the population then in Nagyhajtas also, naturally, the older age groups are overrepresented, and the age groups missing here are those who, we might say, are missing from the libraries as well--those between 20 and 50. A person who has a basis for comparison must certainly note, for example, that a good number of men, people younger than 50, even secondary school age people attended the 8 o'clock Sunday mass ending the Lenten season--and an animal fair was being held just outside the village. Antal Kepes, leader of an industrial cooperative, painted a good bit more precise picture than some of his colleagues with a similar world view: "Unfortunately, religious feeling is still very widespread. The church is full on Sunday. The composition of those attending is mixed. I know a college graduate, a veterinarian, who goes to church. And there are a few prestigious people on the street, with ordered circumstances, who walk on the other side of the street on Sunday. And if a lawyer or a veterinarian go there it can influence the others." Mr Szabo, the teacher, who knows very well the home circumstances of his students, imagined, because that is how he learned it, that the more backward were the more religious: "I see just the contrary when I visit the families. It's crazy, but the more enlightened are the more religious. The weakest ones in my class least frequently go to church." Bela Uveges, the retired teacher member of the local party leadership, also thinks that "the most religious people are not to be found among the poorest people, so the idea that religion is the opium of the poor doesn't quite stand up any more."

Most of the communists see the content of religious feeling as habit rather than as conviction. Dr Malonyai feels that many of them, at least the younger ones, are forced to do it. Several others call attention to the religious interest of younger people, to the presents accompanying first communion, confirmation and a church wedding. It appears that their hypothesis is proven by the fact that after confirmation--at an age of 12 or 14 years--many give up religious instruction and stop going to church. Many of them find it simply unimaginable that a contemporary youth should believe in God out of conviction. This is the opinion of Dr Malonyai and Marton Vono, the town party secretary, has a similar opinion. He finds it unimaginable that a young person with a higher education should believe in the supernatural, because the modern view of nature and the religious world view "clash with one another."

Many feel that for the contemporary person, primarily for a younger person, religion is not so much faith and knowledge as rather experience or emotion. "Romantic," explains Marton Vono. But he also recognizes another important function of religion: "Where is one to go, if he is not a party member, in case of trouble? The priest absolves him and one feels good about himself at mass, if he is sad. People find tranquility there. And in any case, does not the church teach something which is not a problem for us?" Adam Fegyverneki sees the attraction of religion in the ceremonies, in the "church show programs". According to Bela Uveges "the processions and the celebrations are beautiful. There are many children at mass, more than a hundred. There were beautiful mystery plays too. My wife also feels good there on Sunday, after



the weekly grind. But the best thing in church is the quiet. Wherever I go around the country I visit the church, just to sit for a while."

Many of them notice no difference in the behavior of religious and non-religious people. "There are some who live according to what they believe, but there are hypocrites among them also. From the viewpoint of human quality I could only be happy to see even more truly religious people around us," says Antal Kepes, who is also willing "to state in writing" that recently religion has been "mobilizing for the attainment of our social goals, for it speaks for peace and reminds people of their civic and parental responsibilities."

"Could religion represent some sort of danger?" I asked all my conversation partners. Many referred to the dual education, but when I asked what religion was educating people for I did not really get an answer, not even from those with degrees in philosophy. According to the town KISZ secretary one could teach the Bible in school with no trouble and then there would be no need for religious instruction. What he considers to be harmful in religion is that it forces the children to make decisions before maturity. Mr Szabo, the teacher, feels that the dual education could result in a loss of confidence. According to the lady teacher Kapolnai the sense of guilt could be a negative consequence of religious feeling too. The town party secretary mentioned the dual education too, but when I asked if apathy and everyday nihilism, for example, might not be more dangerous than being influenced by two sorts of views he nodded, said I was right, and added: "I have been saying that too. We should not exclude from the Pioneers those who are taking religious training, but rather those who are unruly. Anyway, the reverends play with the children more than they instruct them in the faith." This "anyway" is a rather characteristic reaction. Religion is declining anyway; it is not dangerous because it is on the way out. And, if the secularization process should stop? I asked. "Then we'd have to see who was going there, because the dual education is dangerous," answered the KISZ secretary. According to Antal Kepes what is positive in religion is that it mobilizes for the attainment of the goals of socialist society, but at the same time he considers religion dangerous because "it is an opposing camp, even if it is not hostile, even if it has no power. It is true, it does not even want power. Still here it is, and we really ought to pull up our socks. What is bad is that it is still too strong, and because of its strength it doesn't help the party viewpoint get ahead. The religious instruction is the worst!" I interrupted and asked why. He did not answer, he continued: "We men, we communists, do everything so that fewer children are enrolled. And an exemplary party member gets told by his wife, either with me or with the party, because I have enrolled the child anyway. The poor party member apologizes, says it is a big problem for him, but he doesn't know what to do, and asks his comrades not to count on him any more. He had an office in the party and, if you please, the reverend sir put an end to all that, he was taken from the cadre list." There are contrary opinions in regard to dual education also. That of Kornelia Gyokossy, who recounted that the majority of the Pioneer children coming to help at the human island sing in the church choir.

After Istvan Bolcshazi, and in a dead heat with the town party secretary and the retired director of the school, Father Borbandi was mentioned most often as one of the good people and leading personalities. Those voting for him

included, among others, the party secretary himself, the KISZ secretary too, and Dr Malonyai as well. Bela Uveges, the member of the party committee, also spoke of him with great respect. "He has done a lot for the community. Cleaning up the area around the church was a model action; if only we could organize social work like that! It made us happy too, us communists. When he received an award, at the recommendation of our council president, someone at the ceremony asked the county party committee who was the idiotic animal who proposed a priest? Well, it was us, the communists of Nagyhajtas." Marton Vono calls Father Borbandi a realist, and he is proud that they are on familiar terms. He is also proud of the church garden and the parsonage as well. He considers characteristic the case where Father Borbandi asked if he could quote him when he was going to preach about crimes against human life. The lady teacher Hervai remembers Father Borbandi from his days as curate, when he brought his flute to the farm masses. He is considered a sober, intelligent and demanding man who does much to raise the esthetic value of Nagyhajtas.

We can also get a number of different views of religious life in Nagyhajtas from within, looking with the eyes of the religious people. Uncle Sikaros, the country philosopher, is convinced that "the majority keep religion, go to church, live with honor among people." According to Auntie Mihajlik, the shepherd girl turned naivist artist, "people here are not religious out of habit, they believe, at least 70 percent do." "People in Nagyhajtas are religious in a very general way, from on high. Especially the Catholics," reports Daniel Igazvolgyi, the Reformed Church reverend. "It is a rather religious village, there were 90 for first communion last time, many enroll for religious instruction too," says Peter Kutas, the agricultural engineer. We might remember that Mr Varga, the teacher, said that the majority of the religious people were made up 70 percent by those lacking in awareness and 30 percent by those with the subjective world view. Laszlo Orsos, a norm checker and a young member of the church group, prepared a different sort of world view map. According to him "there are rather many everyday nihilists in the village (that is, not nihilists in the Nietzschean sense) who live well and do not need anything, unless they're in misery of some sort. There are few atheists in Nagyhajtas, but not too many go to church." "Not even half of the parents enrolling their children for religious instruction go to church. It is really only the religious children who remain after confirmation," complains Auntie Konzi, otherwise known as Sister Konzilia Pardanyi, a member of a lay order founded by the Jesuits, who teaches music, acts as choir-master and teaches religious instruction in Nagyhajtas. The male member of the Balogh household married here from Transdanubia and finds people in Nagyhajtas averagely religious by "Csorna standards". Father Borbandi feels that secularization is just peaking here. One of the most striking signs of this is that after finishing the eighth grade the young people disappear from church. One of his curates, young Father Marton, is more pessimistic. Or is he more realistic? As he sees it: "Two thousand people go to church in Nagyhajtas. In 20 years there will be half this many. The parents don't have much hair but they are religious, they have some sort of faith. They say, 'Reverend, I believe!'"

Views are divided even more among religious people in regard to the content and quality of religious feeling. Auntie Mihajlik is devoutly convinced that believers are "dear, decent people you can trust in. If someone is not a believer he is a drunk. The Reformed Church people are decent too. A religious person is good, courteous, obliging, helps in trouble, does not get divorced and is a good patriot. Of course, there are drunks among them too. There are two on the street, but if they do not drink then they are decent too. The church is very important. What would happen to the people without it?" The Balogh couple (the husband is the TV repairman and the wife is guardian of the riding school) thinks that what is good about religion is that "it deals with people's souls, while Marxism is absolutely silent on the subject. The great people of intellect always cultivated religion. We are not bigots, our opinion forms our faith. An awareness of community is the great cohesive force of history, and this was formed in the religions. Faith ties the worlds together! There is hardly any organization here in Nagyhajtas which would be capable of mobilizing people. The church can do more than others. The new parsonage and the nice church garden bear witness to this. In contrast to this they have not succeeded in beautifying the majority of the streets and the new nursery to be built with social work has not come together either." In the opinion of Peter Kutas "the picture is very spotty. It is mostly older people who hold onto religion, but even they do not do so uniformly. There are those who sit in church everyday, but run down everybody with a light heart. And there are those who are always dissatisfied, for whom nothing is good, who are not satisfied with the changes to the inside of the church, or with the church services. They do not even like it that the altar has been brought closer to us or that the entire mass has become more accessible. The biggest problem is that many hardly have any need for the spiritual life."

The priests see the situation somewhat more critically. The serious problem for Father Borbandi is formal religion--the formal christenings, funerals, weddings, confessions and fasts. He finds it very difficult to make his people understand that the Friday fast can be kept with good deeds too. I asked Father Marton about the quality of penitence. He divides the confessors into three equal groups--those who go only at the urging of their family members, those who do it mechanically and those take it seriously. The social composition of all three groups is quite mixed. I asked what sort of problems they came with. "Surprisingly frequently with job problems. In such cases I outline the possibilities; they have to decide. Marriage, the family are frequent problems. Then various psychological problems, most often solving quarrels. I have to know about medical problems too, for example in the case of pills. I consult regularly with a physician friend."

They do not see things in such rosy colors as Auntie Mihajlik, but a good number of them feel that the effect of a religious feeling is shown in the everyday lives of religious people. Reverend Igazvolgyi feels that spiritual balance and purity are distinguishing characteristics of believers, realization of the principle "thou shall not love with the word, but with truth and life." Bela Nyary, the veterinarian, sees in inner peace and tranquility the tangible result of keeping the commandments. Mr Varga, the teacher, feels that "there are more respectful children among those taking religious training, and what is important is that they are not characterized

by some sort of servile rendering of respect. One of my eighth graders, already admitted to the Piarists' school, casually told me in the hall that he had already learned the 'I Cannot' for his own pleasure, and would recite it for me. These are the great moments." Laszlo Orsos, the member of the church council, is certain that the situation of the Hungarian church is beginning to be similar to that of the ancient church: "The crowds have disappeared, but that's not a problem, because in this way the church has become more intimate."

In a characteristic way a significant number of the people in Nagyhajtas identify the priests with the church; they lead or rule them and offer services of varying quality, so it is no wonder that there is an identity problem especially when their priests change. (And--with the exception of the parish priest--they have changed frequently.)

The most summary opinion of Auntie Konzi, a pillar of the "conservative opposition," is a good characterization of the feelings of at least one quarter of the faithful. According to her "the serious spiritual foundation of Canon Keglevics is very much missed. Abbot Homorodi--who lives here in the village, he attends mass too but no longer plays a role--also did much to maintain the continuity of spiritual life. There were no small groups then but the teaching of the faith flourished. He was in his office day and night, you could always find him. His principle was: Say no to every question, if it's important to someone he will fight it out. He fought many fights with me too. Father Borbandi, the present rural dean, likes to play with his slides and films or talk with simple people--quite unnecessarily--about such things as the body being resurrected with the soul. I tell you, the priests are going to ruin religious feeling, because posing problems and administration have taken the place of deeds. The priests today have gotten the old people mad at them, for example by replacing the entire church committee." The earlier church committee--with the exception of its chairman--opposed rather than supported the ideals of the "modernizing" Father Borbandi; they protested primarily against rebuilding the parsonage, and even reported the rural dean to the church superiors. The agricultural engineer and the veterinarian recognize the dean as a man of incredible endurance who designed the new parsonage himself, participated in the construction and did the wiring himself.

"He modernized the church. He threw out the pulpit. Now he speaks from below, from among us. Perhaps he cannot grab and influence people like his predecessor the abbot did, but this tone pleases me better, because it is more human," Bela Nyary, the veterinarian thus characterized the dean. "He deals with films and photos as a hobby, he even uses them in retreats, but his guiding thread is faith, he centers things around that," the head of the church council witnessed for his pastor.

The situation of the curates is difficult because the standard, especially for the younger ones, is the legendary Father Feri, the young curate who was active in Nagyhajtas for 3 years in the middle of the 1970's. A separate chapter deals with him and his students. According to them it is virtually impossible to surpass him. Many consider Father Denes worthy of love but "too devout". Father Marton is considered wise, but a little rigid, by the

younger faithful who measure them by Father Feri, especially by the members of "youth groups" and those attending catechism for young married couples. The opinion of Mr Perneczky, the teacher, differs somewhat from theirs. As he sees it: "The priests here know about everything with virtually daily precision. You can see that they live full lives--despite the fact that they have no families like the Reformed Church ministers. They substitute science and art for their own children."

I asked Reverend Igazvolgyi, the "tower" rising high above the handful of his congregation, what he thought of his Catholic colleagues. "The infamous Canon Keglevics, the organizer of the Actio Catholica, who considered himself strictly a worthy gentleman, was a great hater of Protestants. He even rebuked from the pulpit those who shopped in the shops of Reformed Church merchants, and he tolled the deathbell at the time of the wedding if somebody married a member of the Reformed Church. Relations are very good today, ecumenicism has gained ground. We hold common prayer weeks, and when I am sick there is always some Catholic priest here, the "communist priest" said.

I asked everyone if any sort of disadvantage derived from being religious and most of them answered that there had been none in recent years. Only a few reported minor discords. "Faith represents neither an advantage nor a disadvantage. It is true that believers have to work better. In school, of course, there are minor difficulties," answered Reverend Igazvolgyi. Bela Nyary feels that "the local leadership finds it hard to swallow that such a truly imposing number attend school religious instruction. The practice of religion is free in fact, but nevertheless those with official positions--it is best to be safe--go to mass elsewhere, especially the party members." The chairman of the church council has not found that he has suffered any disadvantage because of his religion. "Indeed, it means a sort of respect, a moderate respect," he announces with conviction.

An imposing sign on the gate of the church announces registration for religious instruction, practically everybody passes it, but there are surprisingly different ideas about religious instruction and the numbers attending it even in the heads of intellectuals and leaders. Many reduce to one half or one third the number of enrollments or those attending. There is a rather general view that the parents and grandparents force the children to attend. Hardly anyone has a precise idea about what happens at the religious instruction classes, frequently not even the parents of the students.

According to the parochial "accounts" 35-40 percent of those of primary school age assign up for religious instruction at school or at the church. At least 9 out of 10 of the children taking religious instruction do so at school. It is a fact that 20-25 years ago the ratio of those taking religious instruction was still around 60 percent, so it is probable that many--following the promptings of their heart--feel the actual rate of decrease to be greater. Whether only one third of those enrolled attend, as I heard at the town party committee, I did not find out. As for enrolling for religious instruction, there have been no problems in the past 10 years. Dr Malonyi was angry that his wife had to enroll the children for religious instruction. He was surprised to learn that the religion instructors considered his wife one of the most tolerant of the teachers. Director Weiner feels that everything "is

going OK" in regard to religious instruction, but it annoys him when the teachers ask him to exert his influence to see that the children attend religious instruction regularly.

A good number of primary and secondary school teachers dispute those who maintain that attendance at religious instruction is the result of parental pressure. "They like to go. How they catch them is a mystery. In addition to that one of the fathers even raps them on the knuckles," reports one of the young secondary school teachers. One of the popular culture workers considers the religion instructors better teachers than the teachers in the Nagyhajtas schools. "Look at their books, like salad, but the religious instruction books are nicely bound. Not only because they are not used. I have the utmost respect for what Father Marton is doing," reports Mr Perneczky, the teacher, who scandalized the teachers by using the familiar form of address when talking to his "religion instructor colleague." The teacher, Ms Balint is very curious about what happens in the religion classes, but only the director can visit them without a permit. It is true that it did not occur to any of them to ask for a permit. She is curious about the religious instruction books too. I asked what prevented her from asking one of her students to loan her one. "Really!" she cried out, and then explained that she herself did not know why she had not done so.

Father Denes was received even in the corridor with a great ovation, as it turned out later not only from the children taking religious instruction. This class was for a group of third and fourth graders (there may be 40 groups) and it fell on Woman's Day. After prayer and the "Jeno song" popular among the children--one of the pop songs of Jeno Sillye known around the country, the words and notes of which can be found in the Ecclesia publication titled "Sunshine Songs"--there was a salute to women, or rather to the girls. The boys presented, as a gift to the girls a picture of Mary--"the number one woman"--and sang a song of Vivaldi as a greeting. It was Lent, and the theme of the class was the story of the passion. Slides gave life to the important events. They were most agitated by Judas, the treasurer who "went bad," the traitor. "When Judas was hanging on the tree, did he ask Jesus for forgiveness at the last moment?" "Were there even little children among those who mocked Jesus?" "What did those scribes think when he rose from the dead?" The children bombarded Father Denes with such and similar questions. He could hardly get them to listen and answer. Compared to the high flying questions of the children the answers of Father Denes were quite down to earth: "Jesus accepted the whipping for the unruly children. You should be gentle in daily life. I am happy that I have not heard anyone saying that 'if Father Denes leaves I will not come to religious instruction anymore'." This was the next to last class of Father Denes for this group. He had been appointed parish priest in a village in Borsod.

It was his farewell class for the seventh graders. He was "making his will." He cautioned them that God had beautiful plans for them. He warned them against mass hysteria; others can cast spells too. He summed up the essence of Christian teaching, the importance of choosing between the good and the bad, life and death, love and hate. "You will be realizing God's plan if you are able to live in the present," he told them. Then they prayed for their parents, siblings, teachers and friends. In connection with friends he noted



that "loneliness is the most difficult problem of adolescence, the feeling that no one understands me, which the Christian can counterbalance with the feeling that God always understands." Finally they prayed for the homeland. Father Denes added to this that the greatest religious freedom among the socialist countries was in Hungary. He asked them to plan their days and pray with the words of Saint Vincent de Paul: "My Lord, what would you do with me?"

Then came the last motif of the farewell ceremonies, saying goodbye separately to everyone--with a laying on of the hands like Saint Paul and a Hungarian handshake. The following text on the saints' pictures given as gifts reminded his students of Father Denes: "Love means that I am not alone. The Lord God takes one of my hands, and with the other I take the hand of my fellow man." The thought of Pal Nagai, who was a doctor to the victims of Nagasaki, Father Denes explained.

#### Beliefs and Values--Church Goers

Twelve people took part in the conversation: a 45-year old district physician, a retired couple who had been teachers, the homemaker wife of a master cooper, the Lakos family (the homemaker wife of an agricultural engineer and her boys in secondary school), a 23-year old female clerk in the automobile distribution office, a 54-year old unskilled kitchen worker with an eighth grade education and her 20-year old daughter working at a confectionary shop, plus a 28-year old foreman who had graduated from college. They were all Catholics. But there was also someone from the Reformed Church, an 83-year old retired producer cooperative president. The common denominator was that they were "religious," or even better, that they were "church goers".

Our first theme was fate--what determines it, can we have a say in it. The opinions differed strongly. The confectioner girl and her mother thought that they could not have a say in their fate. The Lakos family and the agricultural engineer were of the contrary opinion. They thought that basically they could be masters of their fate. The others represented various versions of a little of both positions. "Are you satisfied with your fate?" I asked them.

Only the woman working in the kitchen appeared to be completely satisfied. Not one of them represented the other extreme. The Lakos family and the automobile office clerk were largely satisfied with the development of their fate. The answers of the others were characterized by "yes and no." In answer to the question whether they had a life goal, all answered with a definite "yes", with the exception of the wife of the cooper. She said she did when she was young, "but now less and less."

I offered my conversation partners the following selection of life goals: guiding others, material security, making friends, useful work, social recognition, recognition of my interests, useful social contacts, help for my friends, remembering the interests of others, spiritual peace, following my convictions at any price, adjusting my convictions to the possibilities. Rather unanimously spiritual peace got first place and guiding others got last place. Helping friends got second place, well before remembering the interests of others, from which one can conclude that loving one's neighbor is not so strong in a broader sphere of neighbors as it is among "our own". It

turned out that for some "friends" means a very small circle, not at all neighbors. Useful social contacts was judged just as important as making friends in this society, and social recognition just as important as following their convictions.

When asked if any advantages derived from being religious only two answered "no"--the confectioner girl and her mother, who felt that they had no say in their fate. Those who answered "yes" referred primarily to spiritual peace, eternal life and good mental health. The other test--are there any disadvantages if you are religious--gave a different sort of picture. Five answered "yes", six answered "no" and one with "yes and no". According to the district physician there could be social disadvantages. The confectioner girl and her mother found that religious people were looked down on, laughed at and considered backward. The Lakos family stated fairly unanimously that "only those who sneak are considered guilty." The retired teaching couple felt that only the bigots needed to feel uncomfortable in Nagyhajtas.

Without exception they all agreed that where religious feeling declines morality deteriorates, and that the majority of the great scientists were religious. With the exception of the confectioner girl they all thought that religion had a central role in the development of European culture and that every society needs or should need religion. With the exception of the Lakos family and the college graduate foreman everyone agreed that without religion life is meaningless and has no purpose. Only the retired producer cooperative president agreed that religion makes a person human, five agreed with that partly. Only the retired teaching couple agreed that religion is needed primarily by someone for whom emotions are important.

As for the church, all agreed that the church is a community of religious people, and with the exception of the elderly teacher couple they agreed that it is an institution founded by God. (The caution of the teacher couple, retired 5-10 years now, was astonishing!) The majority--again the teacher couple were cautious--agreed that the church was a prop of learning and justice. A number of them--the district physician, the automobile office clerk, the elderly teachers, the confectioner and the mother--had doubts that the church was capable of renewal, but they did not deny it outright. All agreed that the church played an important role in a socialist society also. The cooper's wife also agreed that the church is an organization of priests. The producer cooperative president, the teacher couple, the confectioner girl and her mother considered that half true. The majority agreed that the believers can give the church a bad name.

In answer to the question of what plays a role in the fact that one is religious, the majority answered to the effect that only thus can a person be truly happy, and that this is the only true way. Four added that it represents an aid in solving daily problems and five regarded a childhood religious environment as important also. Only the Lakos family emphasized the importance of personal decision.

When asked if they were in the habit of praying they answered "yes", with the exception of the confectionary girl. The Lakos family and the automobile office clerk pray several times a day; the wife of the cooper, the former



producer cooperative president and the lady working in the kitchen pray daily, the others more rarely. The district physician prays once a week, but only when there is a problem.

For almost all of them Jesus is the Son of God. The teacher couple said they could not decide if he was God or man but they felt that he was certainly an example to be followed. The cooper's wife said that she believed in the divinity of Jesus, but there was a lot she did not understand.

All had felt the presence of God. With the exception of the elderly teacher couple all affirmed that God sees their every act and that in the last hour of life only religion could offer consolation. With the exception of the teacher couple all believed that Jesus rose on the third day after his death and all affirmed that everything does not end with death and that a person will have to render an accounting for his deeds. The elderly couple did not believe that they might meet with their loved ones after death, and the district physician, the former producer cooperative president, the confectionary girl and the mother were uncertain about it.

I was interested in finding out how a person for whom religion is a more or less well functioning system for interpreting the world would orient himself in the world. In this regard the opinions were a good bit less unanimous. They seemed to agree most of all that one can count on people less and less and with the exception of the teacher couple they agreed that the biggest problem is that most people do not believe in anything. With the exception of the teacher couple and the Lakos family all agreed that the present is uncertain, that anything could happen. It turned out that they were thinking primarily of war. The confectioner, the cooper's wife and the district physician too, in his more pessimistic moments, thought that if one thought about the future it was hardly right to have children. The others disputed this position passionately. According to the district physician, the producer cooperative president, the cooper's wife and the teacher couple the thinking of people is changing so much that bit by bit nothing will remain certain. The others did not agree with this. The district physician, the producer cooperative president, the cooper's wife and the confectionary girl had found that the problems of average people do not interest officials and the Lakos family agreed with them to the extent that the fate of simple people becomes ever worse. They were thinking primarily of old people. The district physician, the producer cooperative president and the elderly teachers had also found that everything which had meant much to their parents, which was valuable and important to them, was falling apart before their eyes. Despite everything, not one of them agreed with the idea that the best thing a person can do is live for today and leave the problems of the future to others. At the same time, their view of the future of this world is not much richer or more varied than in the essays of the eighth grade students.

#### Close-Ups

They call themselves Catholics (Keresztenynek), Protestants (Keresztyennek), religious people, God-fearing people, church goers, believers; they do not put each other in these categories in every case.

One can approach Uncle Sikaros, the 72-year old "country philosopher"--this is what he is called hereabouts, there are a half dozen "of them" in other parts of the rural area around Nagyhajtas--by a potholed meadow as the crow flies, or from the cross-roads by a sand road. Uncle Sikaros chased away with his rake the wildly baying dogs which attacked me. He moves slowly now, his hand always trembles, but he is still quick of speech, fast witted, there is still a lot in him which he would pass on, including his faith. He went to primary school 6 years and spent 3 years in a trade school. He was a smith's helper until he was 24 years old, when he got hurt. He is very proud of the threaded monkey-wrench he made himself. He likes best of all "industrial, geographical, historical and theological works." Now the children bring him books from the school library. "I always liked to read, and I always spoke out against superstition. I like to give the children tests. Recently I asked them what was written on the sword of King Matyas. Well it was 'Virgin Mary, pray for King Matyas.' Recently I hung an ear of corn on a branch of the tree so the pig wouldn't eat it and when they asked me why I said, well the mulberry tree has turned into a corn tree. Then, of course, I told them the truth. I am always happy to read Holy Scripture and the lives of saintly people. I enrolled my children for religious instruction so they wouldn't kill me when they grew up. I go to church myself in the summertime, because where if not there. I used to take a motorcycle, but I don't dare to any more." Then he quoted Washington and Marconi, and then asked with infinite delicacy and curiosity: "If I wouldn't be offending you, what is your religion?"

With its varying shades of green flowing into one another the hedge of Auntie Mihajlik is actually a painting. There are landscapes on the walls of the house facing the courtyard and the columns of the porch are painted too. There is an easel on the covered porch. Paintings cover the walls of the rooms--Biblical and religious scenes, but there are themes from antiquity too, with Roman warriors. There are statues on the tops of the cabinets--relatives, acquaintances, famous people, national heroes and saints. She began to copy things when she was a girl, to escape boredom in the meadow, minding the sheep. She discovered a Greek goddess in the TOLNAI VILAGLAPJA and tried to make a copy of it out of the white clay which can be found in the neighborhood. They praised her for it, even the priests. "Since then I model things and paint. I read art books too, I get them from the library, I have a dozen of them myself. I go to Pest to exhibits. I don't like all of them, I prefer the older things. I was in an exhibit myself. I have won prizes three times. In 1946 I won a county second prize. When I won first prize at the Talented Children Exhibit they called my father into the town hall to send me to school in Pest but my parents kept this a secret from me, they were afraid of Budapest, that I would be a whore there. So I didn't get to study, but I always do art, even now at the age of 79." She said that many would buy from her but she loves her works very much and her children will not let her sell them. "They are numbered," she explained. She made the tombstone for her husband herself: "I copied us on it, and look how much we resemble one another!" She also made a monument for the grave of a little girl relative. It depicts a descending angel dropping a flower from its hand. She has two statues in the Nagyhajtas church, of Saint Rita and Saint Theresa. I have quoted the views of Auntie Mihajlik several times already. She considers religious people a good bit different from non-religious people. "They are not

Nagyhajtas people, God knows where they came from!" She thinks that, "Peace and pure morals are the most important things in the world, and work. Look, I made a model of peace, here it is, with an olive branch. Television is full of violence, murder, immorality and sexual themes, but Szechenyi himself said that a country is lost where there is not pure morality. And there are lots of Gypsies here. They hardly go to church. They beat a Hungarian man to death recently. Children 15 and 16 years old! They should be put on a boat and taken to Africa. One cannot live in a disorderly way like that. Nothing comes from nothing. Even wild animals believe and pray to God in their way. So how can an educated man not believe? A horse or a cow might be in a barn without religion, but not a man. For example, my nephew does not go to church, they did not educate him to the faith. They were married in a civil ceremony. I said, I won't go! All the relatives look down on them because they live together like that."

Bela Nyary, the veterinarian, arrived from the outlying farms in a jeep. He took off his dirty rubber boots. Before the conversation he gave some sort of medicine to a farmer and during the conversation also someone came for him, to visit a sick animal. He seemed overworked and even said that the spring season work was under way, that at such times "a man has strength for whodunits, but it would be good to get one's hands on some sort of more serious book too." He increasingly warmed to the conversation, from which I have already quoted a good bit. Once he stopped and said: "You know, it is interesting that since the university, when we talked about this sort of thing in the rooms of the college, I have not participated in such a thing. But a man should find out his inner disposition. This is the most important thing in life--a certain internal harmony above material things. A person should not want what is impossible, he should be happy with what is. The latter is good psychological and physical condition. Religion can provide this tranquility. I was educated in a monastic school and I got this from home too. I tried to get my boy used to going to church, but I don't want to force him like a bigot. He will choose. But I don't want to be burdened by neglect in this regard. If he wants he will go to church later, if not he won't. There are those who do not go and yet live in peace with the world. I say that a person who builds the country, builds socialism, does not absolutely have to be an atheist. In my opinion religious feeling and the building of socialism are interdependent. In regard to things above and in regard to himself a man is a good man if he does not just talk but does his work well."

Emil Kondor, the new church council president, rests from September to January, but then he hardly has any free time--the chick hatching begins, 5,000 eggs a week. He is 40 years old. He is satisfied, he likes his work very much. He has two daughters. Kinga has been playing the piano for half a year now. His original trade was electrician, but he finished the gymnasium before that and had applied for dental school. He was looking for work where "if I work they pay me, if I work badly I pay." He found it. "It is worth while to work well. It gives pleasure to be able to walk down the street with your head up. I give everyone the same thing, the best quality. To the Gypsy and to the minister. I tell you as a religious man that if you help someone it will be repaid. Want me to prove it? I like concrete examples. I have a friend who lives in the city. I consider it a strict obligation to help if I can--if necessary with money, if necessary with littler things. Then when we

had to wall up our summer place there were 14 people there although I hadn't actually asked anybody. As chairman of the church council I consider it my chief task to be an example, to live like a human being. Year before last we went to Lourdes with Father Borbandi. That is the resting place of Bernadette, who died more than 100 years ago. Yet her internal organs are still sound. It is as if she were only asleep. Some people need this sort of proof so that their faith will not falter. I have no need of such things. And yet I am curious by nature. I just read a book titled "What Is The Cell?" What things a tiny little cell can do! And the Earth is like a little cell in our universe. And it has a master. Shouldn't the universe have a moving force, a supervising organ? I cannot imagine that it does not! When a believer and a person without faith get into the same circumstances then the believer has the advantage. We go on a trip and all he feels is that the seat pinches his bottom, and I am absorbed in the landscape, in the beauty. It is much worse for those who think of everything in terms of money. If the hatchery should burn down another in my place would be bitter, maybe even kill himself. I could give you cases and names. I would look for a way out. One has to believe that there is some sort of strength that will lift one up. It is a fact that there are far fewer suicides among believers. Faith gives spiritual endurance."

Daniel Igazvolgyi is a well built, gray-haired elderly man. He lives amidst ancient furniture and bookcases. On the wall are a cross, mementos, a Latin motto. He was sitting at a desk in a short-sleeved shirt with buttons missing. A few ants were crawling on the desk. In addition to the ants there were flowers as guests in the world of knowledge, in the company of an edition of Euripides published in 1600, a Seneca, a Koran in Arabic, Allport's theory of personality, "Epics Carved in Stone" and other books. He quickly turned to the familiar form of address and spoke with good humor, making jokes at his own expense. He is 69 years old. Some of the believers call him the communist priest, the Gypsies of Nagyhajtas call him Mr Chief Engineer (he was chairman of the waterworks association), and the gymnasium students learning languages from him call him Mr Teacher. He likes young people a lot--"I am sick, but I have a young heart"--and he understands old people very well. He is interested in therapeutic education and regularly visits the "human island." He is deputy chairman of the People's Front, chairman of the peace committee and was chairman of the Red Cross too until his sickness. "Numbers give respect to the Catholic colleagues, mine comes from public life," he said once with irony, and then added: "Most people in Nagyhajtas respect fathers of families." I have quoted already a number of the thoughts of Reverend Igazvolgyi, to whom Nagyhajtas might look as one of its few towers.

You can't decipher Father Marton from his books, you can only approximate him. In addition to a 200-volume theological arsenal (in Hungarian and German) there are only two or three literary works (including Rimbaud) and a few books on electricity in the collection. But listening to his classes you might think him a historian. "I was educated in the Piarist spirit," he explained, "the unity of emotion and intellect is my basic principle. I do not believe in praying in a voice spiritualized into semi-darkness. It is important that a man understands what is being prayed too. Priests also must be men walking on the earth. At the same time we should have greater weight. The ancient Christians were much more strict. We, the priests too, have gotten soft.

We have begun to teach, hear confessions and perform weddings in a mechanical way. We do not note, for example, that for many young people marriage is the legalization of sexuality. There are five couples here in Nagyhajtas that I would have been happy not to marry." He feels that the church should take bigger steps. He was considered a free thinker at the seminary. If we add to all this his ear pulling and use of the ruler....

Of course, it must be added that he promised the children that at the next class he would show them the unleavened bread. I was curious whether he would only show it to them and explain it or perhaps break it and distribute it among them, those he usually calls "forgetful little elephants," as if contradicting or justifying himself, those whom at the age of 8 or 10 he honors with such questions as: "If you were a Pharisee, how would you pray?" or "Can children like you have sin?"

There is much literature among the books of Father Denes, including Vaci, Tamasi, Ady, "Joseph and His Brothers." One can also find a handbook on family law and psychology textbooks. He was consecrated as a priest 12 years ago. His ideal is Tunde Balogh, one of his acolyte girls. He especially loves the weak, those who are made fun of.

Father Feri characterized Father Borbandi this way: "He has a unique personality. He gets involved with his films and slides as if they were the meaning of his life, but this is true the other way around too, his life has meaning." He comes from a poor family, like Marton Vono. He is, ex officio, the chief person of Nagyhajtas. He has a pleasant way of speaking, mixed with quite a few "OK's". He is happy that the Pope replaced his Lincoln with a Jeep. He is made both nervous and happy by the contrast between "Lourdes, so much like a carnival, and the sincere Taize." Taize was a determining experience for him: "With my gray hair, I was ashamed of being a priest because I could not pray like the young people leisurely assembled there. I am trying to bring some of this home, at least in the slides. I do not like poetic prayers, I hate it if I hear that a believer should not ask that." There is a lot I have not succeeded in making my people understand, for example that one should not celebrate Christmas in a selfish way. Even my choir master and sexton were shocked when I held the first communal Christmas here in the parsonage." He and Father Feri joined the People's Front club and since then he has given slide lectures there regularly. I looked over the "opus" and found titles ranging from "Evolution-Revolution" to "Rock Music". In the 1950's someone wrote on his window: "Hang the most reactionary!" Now he is 64 years old. He gets up at 5 and is not in bed by midnight. He too is one of the few towers of Nagyhajtas.

### III. To Be Included in Something Higher

My employers did not leave me too much time to collect a quantity of material suitable for my first report. Perhaps I did not have enough humility, patience and tenacity to knock for a tenth time on doors still locked and ask again and again: "Why?" I end my first report with a pang of conscience, but in the hope that more may follow, that others, perhaps the people of Nagyhajtas who answered my questions, will submit their reports. Summing up I might cite yet again the towers--Uncle Pista Bolcshazi, the producer

cooperative president, Orsoly Gesztesi (Mrs Fabri), the pioneer leader, Reverend Igazvolgyi, Kornelia Gyokossy from the "human island", Father Feri and Father Borbandi, the Perneckzy couple from the primary school with their colleagues and students, for now they expect a report from me too.

I can report that the dialogue has gotten hung up. Discourse between the town leaders and strata with varying interests, values and world views is weak, grudging and elliptical. Sometimes it even stops. The acute lack of information and interest is both cause and effect. What Akos Szilagyi writes about the civil society of socialism or about the constraints on its development applies to the Nagyhajtas situation completely: "The political sphere today is no longer capable of politicizing, manifesting or forming along the lines of the various interests, the actually existing economic, social and cultural articulation of Hungarian society." When Akos Szilagyi speaks of the civil society he is thinking of the common people, not of officials, of moral relationships, institutions and organizations which do not belong to the domain of the state and politics in the narrow sense. In Nagyhajtas these would include the "human island" and the groups of religious people of various sizes and with various tasks--the different congregations themselves, the church councils, the "youth worker types," the little groups for families, the church choir and the group putting together and performing mystery plays. Religious life, or rather those "fields" where representatives of the civil society made up of religious people could carry on a dialogue with the state and political spheres in the narrower sense, a dialogue accompanied by sensible and practical results, might be one of the practice fields for this civil society--which according to Akos Szilagyi represents a higher stage of socialism in comparison to "state socialism."

I can report that the goals are short-term ones. I frequently felt in Nagyhajtas that security was consuming confidence, that security was driving from itself its brothers--liberty, questioning and goals. And so security made too secure gives birth to insecurity and tension, and many must stare unblinkingly at nothing if the short-term parts of security are stolen. Nagyhajtas also justified Jozsef Ratko's assertion that "there is obviously an interdependency between world view uncertainty and injuries to awareness of values." Sometimes I felt that Nagyhajtas might be the epicenter of the "spiritual landslide" and "earthquake of ideals" described by Ratko. At the same time I also felt that even in people poorer in values there slumbered values which, properly magnetized, would cause the over-secure man to take flight. But this would require at least the authorization of the magnets already available. Would people have to borrow ideals, too? Yes. From the best sources. From trustworthy places. Those on the spot too.

I can report that in most cases what takes place in Nagyhajtas under the heading of world view education is the propagation of practical knowledge and entertainment with a didactic tone, and as a result "there is great confusion in people's heads", as the local party secretary said. There is great "confusion" in the heads of those taking the courses as well as those teaching the world view also. This is best illustrated by mixing together the view of the nature and the view of the world, confusing Marxism and Christianity with their degraded, diluted, falsified versions. Levelling downward, a quantitative approach and intellectual, or rather pseudo-intellectual, pride



are characteristic of both religious people and those on the other side. People of intellect are not tolerated easily in Nagyhajtas, not even those among them who are sometimes listened to and applauded--those characterized by Laszlo Nemeth thus: "They do not think in terms of tactics, small steps or rough practice but rather in terms of the future, distant vistas and world diplomacy."

I can report that for all its limits and remnants Christianity proved to be the system most likely to be used to interpret the world in Nagyhajtas in 1983. It is true that there are towers--and not just any kind of towers--indicating the roots and peak accomplishments of Marxism here too, but the rank and file of Marxism here look on these towers with swimming heads and among the rear guard there are a good number for whom Marxism, or a diluted and thus falsified version of it, is nothing more than a substitute for religion or a tool serving utilitarian goals. One can sense in the churches of Nagyhajtas (primarily in the Catholic church) the struggle of a ruling, judging, guiding trend serving human perfection. The fact that the mentality coming increasingly to the surface in this struggle is one which views the church as the wandering people of God is an important event and lesson in the history of the civil society in Nagyhajtas.

I can report that there is a need for an exchange of views in Nagyhajtas, and in such a way that both those exchanging views and those watching the exchange should see values and not division in the different systems of ideals. Recognition and appreciation of the fact that "actually they want it too" would definitely not be enough, because it is at least as important to recognize and appreciate how the other side does differently that same thing which we are trying to do. An ideological struggle--at least one between Christians and Marxists--in Nagyhajtas also would only result in the destruction of values and the postponement of more important tasks. As Uncle Pista Bolcschazi urged, we need dialogue, debate and an exchange of views in the manner imagined by Lenin: "To refute a philosophical system does not mean simply that we reject it, but rather that we also develop further its useful elements. It does not mean that we replace it in its entirety with another, opposed system, but rather that we include it in something higher." So far very few people in Nagyhajtas clearly see this "something higher." The towers see it. We should pay more attention to them.

#### Village vs Budapest, Country

Kecskemet FORRAS in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 42-46

[Article by Miklos Tomka: "From Budapest to Nagyhajtas, or Our World View Situation From a Bird's-Eye View--and Closer"]

[Text] I am acquainted with two exciting sociographies by B. Andras Balint from past years. A few years ago--in FORRAS--he described a small religious community, its religious searching and rebirth ("I Entrust Myself to God: Conversations with Religious Youth," No 10, 1979). Now in the Gyor MUHELY he documents the disappearance of religion in a Pest suburb ("Religious Life in a Border District of Budapest," No 4, 1984). Both views are convincing B. Balint is a good journalist. But reality is complex.

There are many types of "enlarged" close-ups. Some involve trick photography. Some cause surprise. We know Transdanubia as more religious than the average. A book by Laszlo Kardos does not support this. Do not misunderstand--it does not refute it either. It is just that he chose and described with scientific thoroughness a village where this was not characteristic ("Church and Religious Life in a Contemporary Village," Budapest, 1969). Still, the picture is striking. The Academy of Sciences awarded him the title of candidate for his description of Bakonycsernye. Was it a sociography, ethnology or sociology? Surely not for the extraordinary nature of the diagnosis but rather for describing a type. For a type where the light and function of religion are worn out in the wranglings of the congregations, and where at most some little church or sect have life-forming significance. There are many such villages also in Transdanubia-- and even more elsewhere.

The book by Elek Bartha ("An Ethnographic Study of Religious Life in a Zemplen Village," Debrecen, 1980) reports on experiences of a different sort. In Greek Catholic Komloska religion is a living everyday reality which permeates thinking, sets a standard for behavior and enriches the environment with innumerable signs, objects and symbolic acts. Here also the intensity of religious feeling is decreasing. The change, however, is more a departure from tradition--and the creation of new traditions?--rather than the disappearance of religion. This picture is not without interest either. This is also a type. And we do not know how general it is.

It is unfortunate that both Kardos and Bartha photographed through a "color filter." There was an excessive selection of what interested them--the extent of religious practice, artificially recorded frameworks of religious faith (as determined from questionnaires or school essays), the existence and treatment of objects of a religious character. Thus the picture is a collection of the formal elements of religion, of a unique culture, a "religion inventory." Only here and there is this complemented by the socio-historical views of Kardos or by the individual, human views of Bartha. Both man and society remain subordinate. The question of what the role of religion is simply does not arise--in Bakonycsernye or in Komloska. Is it only a burden inherited from the past? Is the only question how quickly or how slowly a community can free itself of it? Or does it meet living human-social needs? Can it (still) provide a guide for man in the socialist society? Perhaps the role of religion in making life intelligible is not to be neglected. Perhaps it would be worth viewing the picture from another perspective. Not starting from the existing religious traditions and institutions! How much more important are the thousand problems, uncertainties and conflicts of contemporary man! If we seek a balm for the wounds of man, a solution to his problems... then it might be worth asking, Does religion, do the churches, have answers, a formula that might be used? (And if we seek honestly then we cannot stop here. We must go further. Who offers another therapy? Who can be trusted? And how fit does this or that proposal prove?)

Naturally it would be unjust to ask of these two worthy authors why they wrote about what they wrote about then and there. The value of their works speaks for itself. But nevertheless their pioneering accomplishments had a perhaps unwanted result--they became starting points for new questions, new seeking,



new studies. This could take many forms, according to branch of science and according to type of work. Sociography is among the most promising, but at the same time the most defenseless. We are not accustomed to accepting intuitions formulated in however sympathetic and cultured a form as real facts and proof. I believe the pronouncements of a sociography--if I want to, if I trust the author, if the findings suit my thinking. In a word, if I get some sort of guarantee from another source. The support can be of two types. That of lesser value is the one which proves the faithfulness to reality of the sociography, but only in a single concrete case, which cannot be generalized. In contrast to this there is also an "absolute" guarantee. This proves the general phenomena, types and interdependencies--in harmony with the concrete case, with a sociography close to life. The moving picture of "Nagyhajtas" is a gripping, convincing sociography. But here also it is true, I believe it if I want to. More precisely, one must decide here: Is it true or not? And if it is true, then what is it really about--a single extraordinary settlement, or an important type of Hungarian reality, and therefore our entire society, our present and our future?

I have not been to Nagyhajtas. I cannot say to what extent the snapshot and the individual reality coincide. At most I can make an experiment, on the basis of other works. I can examine the extent to which the picture is characteristic nationally. Little children preserve and present anew the looks and movements of their parents and relatives. Do we find in Nagyhajtas characteristics of our broader society? We must take a bird's-eye view to answer, to review our world view situation, to bring uniformity to the data available--which we might also interpret as stepping from the individual case into the world of statistics, from sociography into sociology.

There are a few findings which have kept recurring in our social research for years. Politicians repeat them and slowly they seep into public thinking. Most of them indicate problems, things to do. "There is trouble with the system of values." "There are no true communities." "There is no link between private life and the social organization." "We live for ourselves." "We work on common things half-heartedly and with half our strength." "More and more people do not know why life is worth living." And so forth. Of course, these are not only Hungarian problems. Even less problems of the socialist system! (If we make a comparison the same thing can be said in western Europe, only it is much more general, the situation there is virtually hopeless.) But we must find solutions and models here! It is here that we must end the roots of the problems and introduce a method of improvement. And everyone who wants to help can be an ally in this work. Anyone who commits himself unselfishly. This is the only standard--assuming responsibility for the community. The existence of this makes everyone a fellow worker, without respect to sex, race, age or world view. Or, as Gyorgy Aczel puts it: "It is easier to make an honorable alliance in this world for the common tasks of socialism, for the tasks serving humanity, with religious people than it is to do so with apathetic people who strive for nothing, with those who deny all sorts of moral values!" (National agitation, propaganda and cultural policy conference, 1983.) This alliance is one basic condition for further thinking. The second is the large number of religious people. The third is a unique characteristic of Marxism, that it is more successful

when it must point out social strategies than it is in shaping individual lives.

The number of religious people? Janos Kadar said a decade ago, "One cannot see into the souls of people. But I believe the religious people in our homeland are not few in number" ("For Socialism--For Peace," Budapest, 1978). We cannot say precisely how many religious people there are. We are not even certain whom we should call a truly religious person. But there are a few starting points. For example, that 70-80 percent of the children are christened or that 80-90 percent of the dead have a church funeral. Or that 40-54 percent of the population of the country claim to be religious. (The variation in the figure is the result of different interpretations of "religious" by different studies.) There are somewhat more of those who believe in God, while there are even fewer of those who go to church at least at Christmas. Only 10-15 percent of the adult population attends church regularly.

We might sum all this up by saying that about two thirds of our society does not want to give up all contact with religion and the church--which does not mean that their lives are guided by a model of Christianity. The religious tradition for them is not a definite goal and system of values, but rather a sort of department store from which they can select as they please. Compared to this it is less significant that some have a taste for church attendance, others for private Bible reading. Some have neither, instead, it suits them better--who knows why?--to be publicly on record as religious. And where does all this lead? Certainly with time many will forget that they are buying from a "religious department store," for the goods are important, not the seller. After Christmas became a family celebration and the annual dedication of the church was transformed into a local spectacle, now christenings and funerals are slipping from the religious to the secular sphere.... The religious tradition is being worn away, fragmented. Still, its existence is a fact. So there are also people relying on it who do not regard it as a shop but rather as a banquet or as a vocation. For them what is important is not this or that element but rather the message represented by it--the "good news" as they translate Gospel these days. The path from a shaking religious tradition leads not only to the disappearance of religion but also toward a renewal of religion. But something else must be emphasized when summing up. In addition to the majority who are religious "in their fashion," approximately one tenth of our society are religious with conviction, with their existence, and linked to some religious community. This group formulates and represents by its own example how life is worth while, why it is beautiful, when it is a joy. They are made conspicuous not by their faith or the titles chosen by or forced upon them but rather by their passion for life, their endurance, their love of man. We wonder at them spontaneously. Then we would like to understand them. (And pattern ourselves after them perhaps?) At such times we ask: "Where do their strength and cheerfulness come from?" And then we find out their affiliation.

Truly committed religious people are "different" in primarily two things. Their affirmation of life and need for community distinguish them from the average and provide a socially valuable model. The affirmation of life is not only pleasure in life (but it is that too!). It includes a need to pass life

on, love of children and a big family. It includes the value found even in a life of hardships, old age and sickness. Suicide is virtually unknown in this circle, however much the circumstances might "justify" it. The need for community is partly a principle, a norm, an expectation and partly a practice. It is a principle that activity for others gives life meaning. The norm, the requirement of active love, follows from this. But put this way it is too abstract. In addition to the already mentioned love of family, the practical realization includes assuming responsibility for the care of the old and needy, a cultivation of friendly company and working in the communal affairs of place of work and residence. A number of sociological and psychological surveys establish these facts, and they are supported by a great deal of numerical data. Instead of repeating these let me recall some sayings which have become adages already in various trades in the most varied parts of the country. "Who is it that does not steal on the job?" Or in a different version: "Whom can you count on if what is involved is common work which does not pay?" And the answer is: "The party secretary (or more rarely, the party members) and the religious people." That's the way it is. Participation in our common affairs--without any special, "private" profit. Or, for those who like a "more political" characterization, such things are the everyday manifestation of the popular front policy.

There's the rub. The popular front policy exists and is flourishing. Party members and religious people sweat together in common efforts. But we do not talk about it. It happens in a solemn, official form. But among each other? For our edification? And what we thus deprive of publicity, allow to be bottled up, as if there were some sort of curse on it, is only half true. My problems with Nagyhajtas begin here. The sociography is a glance behind the scenes with rare talent. Behind the scenes of a village or a country? I do not know. I do not even know if it is a merit or a blunder. Which is more important, that something is carefully selected in everyday things or that somehow they belong together? And how true is that which is not public? My concerns are not philosophical ones. On the contrary, they are strictly down to earth. I have no reservations in principle in regard to the description of Nagyhajtas. Even less do I have political reservations. This settlement might have been designed by any of our popular front politicians. It is even possible that "Nagyhajtases" exist in germinal form, in basics, as theatrical preparations. I repeat, the conditions are given. The majority of the participants have proven their talent at private showings. But there has not yet been a public assignment of roles; many details of the cooperation are unclear. We cannot yet actually talk about getting a group together. So what is Nagyhajtas, a vision or a reality?

I have a compromise suggestion. Let us not worry about the fact that the author of the sociography called Lajosmizse Nagyhajtas. Indeed, let us forget that a concrete community is involved, in Hungary, in the year of our Lord 1984, or in the 39th year of the building of Hungarian socialism. Let Nagyhajtas remain for us an experimental field for world view coexistence! Max Weber probably introduced the concept of the ideal type into sociology. We are not talking here about the average or what is most common, but rather about a sum of criteria adjusted to a definite point of view. The ideal type is not a photograph but a character sketch, a painting with a definite message, stressing those aspects which contain this message. We find in

Nagyhajtas ideal types with different world views, they debate with and characterise one another. Sometimes the ideal type is an extreme. He is blinded by being in the spotlight. (Is this an everyday practice?) The sociography speaks of "towers". Some of them are characters standing in the center of village public life. Some of them are given significance only because they embody an important type or behavior in the world view mosaic. But ignoring them would ruin the picture.

Nagyhajtas itself may be an ideal type, the ideal type of a medium size settlement preserving and renewing its religious feeling, tolerating its conflicts and using it for the community. This means that Nagyhajtas represents in its elements, in its fragments, in a hidden way a significant part of the Hungarian villages. One third? One half? Or is it meaningful to count when we are talking about a type whose existence is without doubt? It also means that all this probably does not exist anywhere with such crystal clarity. Even Lajosmizse is an abstraction. Not that this is a problem. On the contrary. The collection of dry, cold data free of feeling and independent of attitude is the task of the Statistics Office. It can do that. If one wants to do more he must put some phenomenon of social life under the microscope, must untangle the role and significance of some social group, organization or world view. And, of course, this also means that he must ignore a great deal, must select, must present only the elements which are truly important to him. One does not have to change reality but rather to illuminate it--as in an X-ray picture. The Nagyhajtas sociography meets these requirements.

The ideal type is not the whole reality. It is only a slice of the universe. That is what Nagyhajtas is too. No more, no less. It has its competitors. The village of Laszlo Kardos where--perhaps--religion is not such a factor providing goals and shaping lives. Or the village where there is a sharp struggle between world views and their representatives. The cities belong to another type. There are those like Dunaujvaros from which God is banned--or perhaps where other gods live! There are ancient cities in which historic burdens weigh on the religious situation. And there are city versions of Nagyhajtas too. At most the world view questions become public there to an even lesser extent. People who formulate their religious or Marxist convictions in their everyday things are not so common. But they exist. Indeed, there are more and more of them. The vision of Nagyhajtas may be more realistic, more true to life in the city than in the village. Perhaps Nagyhajtas contains something of the future too.

A few years ago the celebrated Marxist psychologist of religion Mihaly Muranyi, who died prematurely, and his colleague Zsuzsa Domok published in VILAGOSSAG (1976, 8-9) a surprising, shocking research result. "Scientific atheism," they wrote, "certainly appears as a dominant world-view shaping factor, as a theoretical position. But it can be regarded much less as a real regulator of behavior. It provides much less guidance in the area of human coexistence and individual problems." The lesson of the sociography is the same. "I can report," Kamaras writes, "that for all its limits and remnants Christianity proved to be the system most likely to be used to interpret the world in Nagyhajtas in 1983."

We can deliberate about where Nagyhajtas is. We can debate the extent to which this is the country. We can think about how much of it is the past and how much the future. But there is an indisputable base which we can hear frequently from the mouths of sociologists and politicians. To quote Gyorgy Aczel: "Marxism and religion will live side by side for a long time to come" (VILAGOSSAG, 1976, 10). The only question is: "How and with what division of labor?" Nagyhajtas is one answer. It is instructive. It shows how far we have come and what still remains to be done.

### Dialogue Between Marxists, Catholics

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 10 Feb 85 pp 24-25

[Article by Ferenc Varnai: "Marxists, Catholics--Dialogue and Common Action, Hungary and the Vatican"]

[Text] In our tension-filled world where increasing dangers of nuclear holocaust fill people with as much fear as the dismal prospects caused by international economic problems, many coming from the outside look with wonder at the relations, which can be called quite harmonious, which characterize contacts between the Hungarian state and the churches--including the Catholic Church which accounts for about 60 percent of the believers. But what is involved is not a miracle, rather it is many decades of bilateral effort which made it possible for this contact to pass the tensile test.

In the first half of January Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, met with Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, chairman of the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops. At the end of November last year Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Church Affairs Office, conducted discussions at the Vatican with a number of leading personalities of the Holy See (Cardinal State Secretary Agostino Casaroli, Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, secretary of the Church Public Affairs Council, and Luigi Poggi, the Papal Nuncio extraordinary) and was received by Pope John Paul II.

### Fruitful Decade

The communiques issued concerning both occasions spoke with satisfaction about the orderly relations of the Hungarian state and the Catholic Church and reflected the fact that the time of confrontation between the church and the state is past, that the Catholic Church--without giving up its own essence--no longer regards the socialist system as ephemeral. (Bishop Jozsef Cserhati, secretary of the Hungarian Bench of Catholic Bishops, has said: "We have more than 30 years of development behind us. The positive elements of the socialist social system have won recognition, we have recognized the possibilities for development in them, we have accepted them, and we have identified ourselves with all this.") The Hungarian state, for its part, reckons with the reality that the influence of religion does not end automatically with a change in production relationships but rather lives on for a long time in the thoughts of people. As a consequence the new society must be built with religious people too and we must cooperate with the church not for a brief transitional period but rather through a historically long

period. Janos Kadar said even in 1976: "We must unite with every force which is ready to cooperate to work for the revolutionary goals. You may say that this is a compromise. We have learned from Lenin and we state that every compromise is acceptable which aids our revolutionary cause...If we live in such a mixed society, one consisting of materialists and non-materialists, then this is how we will build socialism, only let us build it as quickly and strongly as possible and we will move forward all the sooner."

One must appreciate all the more those patriotic and far-seeing leaders of the Catholic Church who, for their part, blazed the trail for cooperation. After a long and very disturbing period the appointment of Laszlo Lekai to be chairman of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops brought a fruitful decade in the relations of the Catholic Church and the Hungarian People's Republic. This decade proved that a solution is possible which is good for the church as well as for the socialist society.

#### Vatican Understood As Well

In September 1984, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of his consecration as a priest, Cardinal Lekai received a message from the Pope who spoke in his letter with appreciation of the activity of the Archbishop of Esztergom who will soon be 75 years old (on 12 March). So it is justified to expect that the cooperation of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Catholic Church, which is useful to both sides and which has brought results, will continue further.

As for contacts between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican, it was virtually unimaginable a few years ago that the Pope would receive the leader of a church affairs office of a socialist country. Even very recently some influential Vatican circles have regarded such institutions of the socialist states as instruments for oppressing the church. The mere fact of the reception is a reflection that the Holy See itself could not avoid the recognition that given the present conditions in Hungary the Catholic Church may have found the only possible framework for its operation which serve both religious life and support for the socialist homeland. And it also indicates that despite the conservative efforts, which have become stronger, the "eastern policy" of the Second Vatican Council, which opened a door toward the socialist countries, has not come to an end.

The discussions which took place in the Vatican did not touch on the matter of taking up diplomatic contacts. Both sides understand that diplomatic contacts in themselves are not a criterion for good relations. For example, the partial agreement between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican which came into being in 1964 fixed in 16 points the problems awaiting solution. Since then 90 percent of these have been solved--because in the meantime the conditions matured and there was good will on both sides--without there having been formal diplomatic contacts. The diplomatic relations established some time ago by Yugoslavia and the Vatican, on the other hand, have not resulted in actual settlement of the disputed problems.



Similarly, neither side felt it justified to raise a possible visit by the Pope to Hungary. Probably because the Vatican also understood that the barely beaten path of a church seeking its place amidst the conditions of socialism, and just finding it, should not be disturbed with sensations. What is more needed is to continue the patient work, free of spectacles, and to strengthen further the initial achievements.

#### Rational Compromises

The state of affairs respected by both sides involves a great number of rational compromises. Let us mention only the most important ones:

1. The adjustment in the agreement concerning the relations of the Hungarian popular democratic state and the Catholic Church which came into being on 30 August 1950 sanctioned the historically overdue secularization and separation of church and state. On the one hand it provided a legal guarantee of the conditions for the practice of religion and the free functioning of the Catholic Church. It made possible the existence of parochial secondary schools--in limited numbers--and that religious orders could function to provide teachers. In addition to the stole fee income of the church (church tax, religious instruction fees, donations from believers, collections, foreign donations) it provided significant state aid (at present the Catholic Church gets about 31 million forints from this source) primarily to supplement the salaries of priests serving as clergymen (benefice). The state also provides very significant aid for maintenance and renovation of church buildings, protection of monuments and maintenance of church's social institutions. On the other hand the bench of bishops promised to respect the constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, that the church would not provide backing for acts endangering the social order, and that it would call on its believers to work to build the country and to defend peace. (The agreement has been supplemented by Law Decree No 22, 1957, based on Section 7 of Article XLIII, 1885, according to which the prior approval of the Presidential Council is needed to fill positions depending on Papal appointment.)

2. A partial agreement between the Hungarian state and the Apostolic Holy See was signed on 15 September 1964 which expedited the harmonious filling of the prelate positions which had been vacant, which recognized the necessity of bishops taking the civil oath, and which represented a de facto overture for maintaining continued and regular contacts between the Hungarian authorities and the Vatican.

A role was played in the creation and practical realization of the agreement by those positive changes which were initiated by Pope John XXIII and confirmed by the Second Vatican Council and were embodied in the reform spirit of the new "eastern policy," in an opening in the direction of the eastern European socialist countries and in the beginning of a dialogue with the communists.

## It Does Not Mean Confrontation

The normalization of contacts opened the door for new agreements. Among others for the 1971 agreement concerning the modality of the state assent needed to fill church offices, the uniform regulation of religious instruction in the churches which took place in 1974, repeated extension of state aid, creating a theological correspondence course for lay believers, increasing the number of copies of the Catholic weekly, support for construction of a building to serve as a Catholic charity home and retreat, etc. In 1974 the Pope declared the seat of the Esztergom archbishop to be vacant and on 24 May 1976, after the death of Mindszenty in 1975, the Esztergom archbishop Laszlo Lekai was made a cardinal--with the assent of the Presidential Council--and confirmed as chairman of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops. (On the occasion of his appointment Laszlo Lekai declared: "As Archbishop Primate of Esztergom I will regard it as my mission to stand on the ground of the realities; not to try to reverse the process of development, but rather to encourage it. And the reality is that we, believers and non-believers, live together in a socialist society. We want to prosper here, all of us, and we will try to raise this prosperity, this life worthy of a man, ever higher with our own physical and intellectual work.")

The process of contacts between the Hungarian government and the Vatican begun in 1964 was confirmed in principle and for a long time by the meeting on 9 June 1977 between Janos Kadar and Pope Paul VI, following the spirit of John XXIII. (Paul VI said: "Experience confirms the effectiveness of the path followed.... The Holy See and the church in Hungary are sincerely willing to continue on this path, openly and loyally, suitably appreciating everything which the state has done to make possible, on its part, the results achieved thus far by virtue of the mutual agreements, and guided by the wish that progress should be possible.")

This process of more than two decades, patiently supported from both sides, has made it possible that the relations of the Hungarian state and the Catholic Church have not deteriorated, indeed they have improved, despite the deterioration of the international situation, the theological and church government changes in the Vatican in a conservative direction, and the increasing economic problems. The earlier atmosphere of confrontation and mutual suspicion has not returned. Being religious in Hungary today no longer means a political clash or open or hidden opposition to socialism. Dialogue between Marxists and Christians is becoming a reality of everyday and the Patriotic People's Front provides a framework for cooperation extending to a number of practical areas of political and social life.

## Areas of Cooperation

The church policy of the MSZMP and the Hungarian state starts from the position that in the long historical process of building socialism citizens who are believers still exist on a mass scale and can perform active, socially useful activity without having to give up their religious convictions. It follows from this that working people with a religious world view who are active in the interest of the enrichment and peace of the country should not be treated as "fellow travelers" who are to be tolerated for a while but



rather as partners and allies of equal rank and that we must reckon with the lasting survival of the churches dealing with the spiritual life of religious people in the age of the building of socialism. (Closely interdependent with all this is the idea that only professional, political and human fitness can decide the filling of all state and social offices, with the exception of party functions--for which there are ideological requirements as well. For example, more than 500 church people can be found among the officials of the Patriotic People's Front, and these include some of the highest leaders of the various churches. Many more Catholic believers are active in various state, trade union and cooperative organs. We cannot publish precise data about all this only because our laws forbid discriminating among citizens on the basis of world view even in the area of data collection.)

There is ample scope for cooperation in everyday life, in the work of building society; in connection with the family, educating the youth, population policy and solving health problems; in the struggle against alcoholism, crime, behavioral and linguistic degeneration, moral apathy and cynicism; in aiding the needy aged and lonely people; in preventing self-destructive forms of behavior; and not least of all in supporting the struggle being waged for peace, more concretely to prevent the arms race and nuclear war.

But cooperation is possible not only in the area of political and social practice. Even if there is no possibility of convergence between various world views (for example, between the idea of divine creation and the idea of an eternal material world), still certain analogies can be found in moral norms and esthetic values. Some of the value judgments coincide in the views concerning improving the quality of life, honest work, awareness of responsibility, integrity, the importance of solidarity, the need to seek for a healthy way of life, etc.

#### Content of Dialogue

In the course of the cooperation it is absolutely necessary to constantly clarify the points of contact, and to discuss the disputed questions. But those who think in a Marxist way should not put in the forefront of the dialogue world view questions which can only strengthen confrontation (for example, the materialist judgment of Christ's salvation of mankind or the immortality of the soul) but rather those ideological and moral problems in which the practical conception of the socialist state and the church meet but do not coincide. These include what a rational human life should be like, how it is possible to liberate women in society and the family, the extent to which having children should be voluntary and the assuming of parental responsibility, what should characterize the respect of the younger generation toward the older and how older people should respect the human dignity of young people, etc. In other words, instead of abstract debates about the existence or non-existence of God, the Marxists should place the emphasis on the actual content of the concrete values and ideals of socialism and on promoting them in life, even if religious people derive all these things from a supernatural sphere. The institutions of the MSZMP and the socialist state conduct patient, persistent, persuasive activity in the interest of spreading the scientific materialist world view--primarily through a positive expression or demonstration of the Marxist world view and of the values created in the

spirit of it. They try to encourage religious people to evaluate the role of our homeland realistically, to be able to distinguish between its friends, its partners and its enemies, to judge our accomplishments and our deficiencies soberly and to show good will toward those who think differently.

But this is done in the awareness that the tendency of religious feeling to increase or decline changes not primarily as a function of influences on awareness but rather as a function of the real life relationships of society; a lasting and profound change can be accomplished only by making the objective economic and social conditions more favorable. For example, when fast, dynamic development characterized our homeland in the 1960's and 1970's the process of secularization accelerated also. Since the end of the last decade, however, when our economic development slowed, living conditions became more difficult and international tension sharpened, this process stopped also.

All this, of course, cannot excuse laxness in ideological enlightenment activity, just as a hardening of church policy cannot be an antidote to the religious detachment which can be experienced in places. The spread of the Marxist world view can be served effectively only if its representatives--while trying to further the spread of the scientific view of society and affirming in a tolerant way the progressive cultural and historical achievements passed on by religion, affirming the progressive, constructive efforts and the dialogue--enter into an open debate with the conservative circles of the Catholic Church which slander socialist society and attack the progressive spirited church leadership and the priests supporting it.

#### Theology of Liberation

For example, they should debate with concepts that are contained in the guide of the Theological Congregation which is supposed to defend the faith and which operates under the chairmanship of the conservative prefect Joseph Ratzinger (who was called the "grand inquisitor" by an article in the 14 January 1985 NEWSWEEK). The Vatican directive bearing the title "The Theology of Liberation" not only rejects the analysis of the third world given by Marxist ideological trends, not only forbids the integration of certain conclusions of these into church doctrine but spreads the idea--in order to scare Catholics seeking betterment away from the Marxists--that "a conception based on the class view leads to a totalitarian society based on violence." The "guide" simultaneously rejects the ideas of a "church of the poor" and of a "church of the people", which are supported by many priests in developing countries who sympathize with the destitute people.

Thus an ideological struggle is being waged within the church also among those who believe in accepting the demands of social progress. One can also find this tension between the conservative church forces supporting a cold war mentality and opposition to socialism and communism and the religious church factors acting in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, undertaking joint action with those of different world views for peace and against the arms race and demanding the realization of social justice.

Not least of all this internal struggle or capability for renewal has provided a basis whereby Christianity has proven capable--although remaining virtually unchanged for 2,000 years in regard to world view--of ideological accomodation to the needs of the antique society, feudalism, the bourgeois world and now socialist society. (In regard to the latter it is trying to draw inspiration from the original popular, plebeian-democratic spirit of Christianity.)

The Hungarian Marxists are building on just this adaptability of the Catholic Church and on the realistic forces evidencing understanding for social progress when they try themselves to give an example of tolerance and patience coupled with faithfulness to principle.

#### Catholic Church in Hungary, 1983

Churches, chapels--	3,520
Active priests--	3,350
Members of the four religious orders--	284
number of teachers therein--	138
Number of students in the 6 boys' and 2 girls gymnazia--	1,920

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According to church estimates, 15-22 percent of the Catholic believers regularly participate in religious services.

Newborn children being christened--	46 percent
Married couples taking Catholic vows--	28 percent
Deceased receiving Catholic funerals--	54 percent

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(The trend for all three is declining slightly.)

#### Catholic Journals:

UJ EMBER (weekly)--	90,000 copies
VIGILIA (monthly)--	11,500 copies
TEOLOGIA (quarterly)--	4,000 copies
KATOLIKUS SZO (biweekly)--	15,000 copies
Book publishing (30 works)--	300,000 copies

#### Civil, Religious Ceremonies

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 20 Jan 85 p 24

[Article by Agnes Horvath: "Immoderate Ceremonies, Religious Versus Civil, From the Cradle to the Grave"]

[Text] Half a century ago the church still exerted such an influence on the value awareness of society that, going beyond the moral norms inspired by religion, there hardly existed for the masses another alternative in judging man and the world. Every important station of life was tied to some sort of

ceremony, and these ceremonies were also parts of the lives even of those who otherwise were tied to the church by very weak threads.

#### Convention Dictates

A rearrangement of the value awareness of society began after the liberation. Naturally this is a slow and complicated process. For a long time it was believed that the great social and economic changes which fragmented the earlier life frameworks of millions would automatically create life forms suiting the modern age and lead people to a new sort of behavioral culture. Even so not much was done to work these out.

It turned out, however, that a new sort of behavioral culture does not come into being and spread on a mass scale of itself--and especially not overnight. To whatever extent the life view and value judgments of contemporary society may be more rational than ever before, a person of today is not inclined, at the several stations of life, to give up the eternally memorable festive ceremonies accompanied by definite externals. Thus, there is a need for ceremonies.

But it is difficult to move forward in this area, to struggle against centuries old traditions. The ceremonies introduced by the church give satisfaction, they are dignified and solemn. It is virtually impossible to maintain this serious solemnity without the tools of mysticism, so one should not copy the church ceremonies in a servile way. At the same time, it is not at all easy to invent new elements and build them into civil ceremonies which are both elevating and will be accepted by the masses sticking to the conventions.

It is curious that choosing a church or civil ceremony was never really a true expression of the world view affiliation of people. There was a time--even after 1945--when making use of church services was "obligatory" even for those who were not religious. Custom dictated it. In the 1950's, on the other hand, only a few confessed publicly to being religious, so many gave up the church ceremonies out of fear or tossed about by scruples. Today a good number are participating in church ceremonies again, even those who are not believers or church goers, simply because they feel a need for the mystical solemnity.

#### Ill-Matched Things

The state is tolerant in this respect, it makes a free choice possible for everyone. The party--naturally--requires an open world view stand from its members. He who is a member of the party cannot take part in religious ceremonies and cannot make use of church services, either for himself or for his family. At the same time it does permit passive participation in a church funeral or even the holding of a church funeral in the case of an immediate religious relative, such as aged parents or siblings. The rule appeals to self-awareness, for it is virtually impossible to check on adherence to it. So a christening or marriage may be held in the Matyas Church even in the family of a party member, and it is not rare to have a village funeral where

the deceased is memorialized by the local leaders and the village priest as well.

Simply out of respect for traditions there are civil equivalents to those church ceremonies which are tied to certain stages of life. The first such event in the life of a person is the christening, or name-giving. It was the original function of the christening for the child to take the first sacrament, to have the infant accepted as a child of God.

From this viewpoint the name-giving ceremony is entirely formal. It is actually nothing more than the first social appearance of the child. The younger age is not important because the child does not get its name through this act but at birth, from its mother. The ceremony only confirms the name already entered in the records. So the role of the name-giving parents is only formal (as is that of the dedicating parents, patterned after the godparents), their function consists largely only of respectfully presenting the "name child."

The christening is maintained especially strongly among the church ceremonies. Frequently people will take their children who had not asked the church's blessings on their marriage. Perhaps in this respect they are like the peasant in the anecdote who found some ham on Good Friday and before eating it he carved a cross on it with his knife, because he was not a believer, but what is sure is sure, and it wouldn't hurt to make at least one good point up there. And there are also those who drag the little one to an enterprise name giving ceremony after the christening, in the hope of getting a nice present from the trade union there.

The name giving celebration itself is generally sweet and intimate. The nursery school children or young school children give a program and the entire ceremony becomes a sort of friendly little doll party. Of course there are also abuses where they try to give a "partisan" color to the ceremony, and tie red kerchiefs around the necks of infants 2 or 3 months old. But such immoderate, forced modernizations only destroy the spontaneous character and intimate mood of the celebration.

Civil weddings held in the marriage halls are no less festive than the most imposing church wedding. Perhaps we have developed most quickly in this area, probably because a civil wedding ceremony is obligatory even for those who have a church wedding, but also because the church will perform a wedding only once so those intending to get married a second time--which is not rare--can only make use of a civil ceremony. The fact that it has again become fashionable, even for those not religious, to have a wedding in the most elegant church can be explained primarily by romanticism or nostalgia.

Those getting married set the entire course of the wedding ceremony. The music selections take every taste into consideration, from Gregorian chant to beat music. One can make an agreement with the registrar in regard to the words spoken also; the registrars are increasingly willing to use an individual text designed for the person. It is certain that there will no longer be such blunders as to speak of virginal purity when the couple have three or four children participating in the ceremony.

## Final Farewell?

Our funeral customs give a faithful picture of our behavioral culture. The chief trouble with our mourning ceremonies is that we do not know precisely what the sense of them is. According to religion we are burying the body, the soul departs from it and goes to heaven. Materialists, on the other hand, claim that they are only honoring the memory of the deceased. So why do we take our final farewell in the cemetery?

The ancient, mystical ideas about death and funeral ceremonies are mixed with the ideological confusion of more recent times, sometimes giving rise to behavioral forms filled with tricks and egoism. The social and material inequalities and cultural distinctions made in life steal into the cemeteries also. But all these negative phenomena characterize uniformly the church and the civil ceremonies, as paid services--which vary in quality as a function of what is paid.

The relatives of the deceased have two choices--they can request a church or a civil funeral, if the movement or his former place of work do not regard the deceased as one of their own, because in this case they will have a movement or enterprise funeral for him. The number of civil funerals increased substantially in the past decade but the ratio of them remains a good bit behind that of the church ones. Going beyond the ideological confusion, many find the civil burial bleak and soulless. It is naturally easier for the priest shriving the deceased to give a warm farewell, and the emphasis at a church funeral is on elements of the mass so that the entire ceremony has its own course, mood and rite.

At civil funerals the official speaker hardly knows the deceased and so can do no more than try to fit the data heard from the relatives into the three or four stereotyped speeches he has made up. And one must have doubts about these data because upset, grieving people are the least suitable to paint a human picture of the deceased. So all that remains are false sounding, cold commonplaces.

It will probably be only in the future that the final, sincere forms of the present ceremonies, accepted by society as a whole, will take root--in our life and in our death.

8984

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HUNGARY

HISTORY, FOREIGN POLICY, RELATIONS WITH GDR REVIEWED

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[Article by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and president of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic: "Forty Years of Free Hungary"]

[Text] Anniversaries always offer an occasion for remembrance, for reflecting on the road taken and for setting down the lessons learned. There are events that mark a turn of destiny in the life and history of particular nations; there are others of national and international effects at once, embedded in broader contexts. Among the latter, indubitably, is the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, as it fits into the series of events that transformed the countenance of Europe and of the whole world.

The antifascist coalition, within which the Soviet Union bore the main burden of the war and brought the greatest sacrifices, and the unfolding national resistance against fascism are examples which show that in a situation that actually endangers the future of all mankind it is not only necessary that countries with differing social orders and the various political forces and people with disparate world-outlooks join together, but that this is also possible because their fundamental interests coincide. In contrast, the deliberate dissolution of the antifascist coalition and the Cold War against those countries that had opted for a people's democratic way of development brought no result. Rearmament, political and military pressure and the economic embargo have essentially inflicted serious damage on the peoples in all countries, whatever their social order, but could not halt the process of social progress.

Also in Hungary, liberated by the Soviet Army, a people's movement unfolded, aiming not only at reconstructing the destroyed land but, above and beyond that, at setting up a new power, the democratic transformation the people's masses had long desired. A coalition government was set up in which, along with the two labor parties, those parties and organizations were represented which--if to different degrees--had opposed fascism and Hitler's war of aggression. The Hungarian Communist Party was the leading force in the National Independence Front that embraced the democratic parties; based on the communists' program and the democratic forces, it erected the new Hungarian nationhood. The new government declared war against fascist Germany, purged the fascist organizations in the country, put up a new Hungarian democratic army, and called the war criminals to account.



The most significant measure taken by the new state power was a radical land reform abolishing for once and for all the landed proprietor system entwined with finance capital and supplying more than 600,000 unpropertied families and small plot owners with land. That brought a revolutionary change to the power, production and class relations in our society. The land commissions and enterprise committees, new people's organizations, played a great role in this revolutionary transformation. The latter had, even under capitalist conditions, controlled production and distribution "from below," as it were.

After Churchill's notoriously aggressive Fulton speech the winds of the Cold War began to blow; in Hungary also the lords and beneficiaries of the old regime started their counter-attack. In this phase of tense class struggle the third party congress in September 1946 proclaimed the slogan: "We are building up the country for the people, not for the capitalists!" Based on this program, the revolutionary process speeded up: In 1947, the bourgeois representatives were pushed out of the state apparatus, the large banks and the industrial corporations they owned and--in 1948--all industrial enterprises with a work force of more than 100 were nationalized. The fusion of the communist and the social-democratic parties in the summer of 1948 somehow formed the final chapter in the 1944-1948 revolutionary period; in a relatively peaceful way, through the people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat evolved, and the construction of socialism could be undertaken.

The early years of socialist construction brought workers and peasants into the power organs en masse. A comprehensive industrialization took place. Factory output up to 1956 tripled in comparison with 1938. The rural cooperative movement got started. So did the mechanization of agriculture. Unemployment was done away with. The universities opened their gates to the sons and daughters of the working people. A cultural revolution spread.

Some of the magnificent goals could, however, not be brought to realization. Serious mistakes, distortions and law violations hampered developments. Intolerant voluntarism, sectarianism and dogmatism had led to that. In economic policy that caused large disproportions between heavy and light industry and between heavy industry and agriculture. The standard of living of the masses declined for the time being. Because administrative methods and legal irregularities became excessive, the confidence placed in the political leadership tottered. Two factions showed up within the party: Along with the sectarian group, a revisionist group also gradually gained ground. Their unprincipled struggle facilitated for domestic and external forces that did not want to reconcile themselves to Hungary's socialist development starting their counter-attack. Induced to it they also were by certain--mainly U.S.--imperialist circles.

That led to the outbreak of the counterrevolutionary uprising on 23 October 1956. The cause of socialism in Hungary was seriously jeopardized. In this threatening situation a new party executive, under Janos Kadar, and the revolutionary workers and farmers government were set up which--relying on the help of the Soviet Union and internal revolutionary forces--tackled the military and political knockout of the counterrevolutionary rebellion and the restoration of the people's power.



The era of the personality cult and factional fights that had led to the counter-revolution induced the party, while reorganizing, to draw fundamental lessons. The inferences drawn by the MSZMP did turn out to be correct. Returning to the Leninist principles and norms, it elaborated and implemented in the process of combative advances a new policy, new working methods and a new working style. The political course, time and again reaffirmed in a whole number of party congresses, has remained unchanged to this day in the dialectical sense of continuity plus renewal. The party would always reconcile the elements in this course to a constantly changing life, while any renewal would rely on unalterable basic principles.

The reorganized party clearly eschewed the distortions, mistakes and law violations of the time of the personality cult as much as the opportunistic-revisionist propensities and treason. It espoused the party's legacy and the continuity of the revolutionary workers movement. On two fronts did the party fight at one and the same time, against sectarian-dogmatic manifestations on the one side and against revisionist ones, on the other. It tolerated no factions and worked out and defended a standpoint leading to an objective through frank and principled debates. It restored democratic centralism and enforced the Leninist practice of collective leadership, of criticism and self-criticism.

All that did not envisage an end in itself, but the enforcement of the party's leadership role. During the last 28 years the party has unequivocally announced repeatedly that it is the party of the ruling workers class yet does not itself rule but serves its class and its people; its leadership role lies in its political leadership. It can exercise its leadership role only when the masses follow along, voluntarily and from conviction, when it conducts a policy, in other words, which the masses understand and agree to--a policy taking account of the interests of the workers class and of the people at large. The party realizes its leadership role then not by commands, but by convincing, by having its words match its deeds and by the clearly perceptible results of its policy.

This conception also renewed the alliance policy--the realization that the party's leadership role is as solid as the circle of the working class allies is broad and firm and its mass solidarity is close. The party also announced and brought it about that--except for party functions--any management function in the country may also be assumed by nonparty members. Confidence, understanding, tolerance and the will to understand--that is whereby the party let itself be guided in molding relationships with all strata.

It advocates the standpoint of freedom of conscience and respects any inner conviction unless it opposes our social order by deeds. Despite the ideological difference, even the churches have accepted our socialist social order. It made possible that in socialist construction believers can cooperate with non-believers without any conflict of conscience. We do respect religious sentiments, yet we are propagating our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The rapprochement of classes and strata, of their interests, circumstances of life, convictions and aspirations, which are of course not without contradictions, pushes the process ahead in the course of which the socialist national

unity evolved, under the leadership of the workers class and its party. This provides the working class power with its strength, as it depends on the alliance between and workers class and the farmers and, virtually, on the democratic power of the people at large. This power is strengthened by having socialist legality realized in our country. This is our principle: Whoever respects the law, the law will defend; he who violates the law, must be punished; no one--under what pretext whatsoever--can dodge the effect of our laws.

Two of what may well be the most typical and closely interconnected elements of our party's general line, here only briefly sketched, are the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the respect for reality. Since 1956 the MSZMP has sought to pitch its policy in such a way that it will proceed, not from wishes, but from realities, from the tasks posed by life, that in setting down new tasks it will analyze the concrete and real situation and, in seeking to reorganize reality, take actual interests and possibilities into account. Though it has a high regard for the role of the subjective factor, our party opposes any subjectivism and voluntarism. It seeks to determine its steps in conformity with reality and to take into consideration the material and human, external and internal conditions, and any likely consequences. In its analysis of reality our party relies on scientific principles, on the knowledge of social inevitabilities and on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which it applies in accordance with realities, yet not literally, as a means to consolidate and implement objectives, creatively, in other words.

We may refer here to the four most significant points of crystallization and accomplishments of this general line.

First: The consolidation of the workers power after 1956. It took place relatively fast and brought pervasive and permanent results precisely because of the party's policy and method as outlined. To this day has our party been the beneficiary of that "trust capital" which it gained at that time by its creditability, patience, humanism and loyalty to principles, and which it has augmented further subsequently.

Second: The socialist transformation of agriculture. Our party has successfully fulfilled this historically significant task by properly adapting the Leninist principles--voluntary and gradual actions and state support--to Hungarian circumstances. Based on a correct analysis it chose the proper point in time and fought in two directions--the designs to delay collectivization or accelerate the peasants' pauperization. It rejected any force or haste; it used the means of convincing. This prevented a decline of agrarian production while the agricultural large enterprises were being set up. Through collectivization, socialist production and property relations came to prevail in our country. The fine production results of Hungarian agriculture since are known well enough. Yet thanks to collectivization there is still much more: villages and village inhabitants that are well off, cooperative democracy, a new settlement policy, and useful experiences in economic organization and management.

Third: The new economic management system that came in in 1968. It seeks linking the socialist planned economy with the merchandise-money relations. Its elaboration is a fine example for the far-reaching cooperation between specialized sciences and Marxism and politics. The methods used then are being used in party work to this day: Many scientists and specialists are doing research on gaining new insights into reality and are preparing proposals and alternatives for problems to be solved--yet the political organs make the decisions. And although the introduction of the new economic management system proceeded cautiously, by way of experiment, faltering at times even and getting onto wrong tracks, in consequence of it still production became more efficient, the quality of economic management was improved and the economic conception prevailed. Moreover, this reform also spurred theoretical research in other fields, activated public life and enhanced the local organs' self-reliance.

Fourth: The spreading of socialist democracy. Many steps in that direction have been taken since the early 1970's: the democratic reorganization of the election system, the development of self-reliance in the local people's representations, the modernization of the administration and so forth. The activity of the mass organizations, especially of the trade unions, was activated in line with their specific purposes, and the Patriotic People's Front became an important factor of public life. The increase of debates also is a sign of expanded socialist democracy. This our party considers unequivocally as a positive thing, even though sometimes some debates get onto secondary tracks or now and then poorly thought-out or even extreme opinions are voiced or the style of the debate becomes unacceptable. We do not wish to restrain debates; we seek to engage in polemics against views or standpoints that are false or deviate from Marxism or oppose it. While we are strengthening our struggle against harmful ideological influences and the necessary polemics in debates on open questions, we consider it important to pay attention to all arguments committed to socialism and the country because a dispute often can lead to helpful syntheses and, consequently, to some consensus that may serve as basis for actions.

Through the worsening of the terms of trade our economy suffered sensitive losses in the 1970's. We have tough years behind us and still can by no means yet catch our breath. The more complicated economic situation has, for one thing, put a brake on the conversion to intensive economic management, our raw material and energy imports and the selling of our own products. On the other hand, this is precisely what induces intensification, as it has been clearly confirmed that a lasting upswing is possible only through our improving our production and product structures, higher efficiency and better qualities. This conversion has been laborious and slow, though: Neither investments nor the standard of living declined, yet our indebtedness has been increased through the credits which had to balance the non-produced part of our national income.

We had to switch gears in our economy 5 years ago: Both economic growth and investments had to be reduced; instead of raising the standard of living on the whole, it became a matter of improving only specific living conditions. The chief target was declared to be the preservation of the country's liquidity and the regaining of the internal and external equilibrium of our economy.

The measures introduced under the necessity of the situation that had arisen did not miss their mark: The basic targets of the economic program have been attained and we preserved our liquidity and trimmed our debts somewhat. Though real wages declined, the real income rose somewhat through higher social benefits and the standard of living was maintained on the overall social scope. National income growth last year exceeded the plan. Instead of the 1.5 to 2 percent in industrial production growth planned, we got between 2.5 and 3 percent, agriculture had a record grain harvest (15 million tons), and more agrarian and food products were exported than ever, without cutting into public consumption.

This was due largely also to the position the party took on further developing the economic management system, on the basis of which effective measures were taken. The weight of monetary and credit policy in economic management is increasing, the banking system is gaining more and more importance. Enterprises are becoming more independent organizationally and economically, new forms in enterprise management are taking over. Along with the overwhelming proportion of large and medium-size enterprises the number of small enterprises and co-operatives also is growing. The socialist sector (state and cooperative enterprises) has the commanding share, yet along with it we also leave some room for small trade and commerce, which mainly handle public services. A whole number of measures were taken to regulate the investment system and the development of the pricing system and income rules, with material incentives for the working people increased as well.

The party resolutions on the further development of the economic management system and the government decisions backing them up also raise new tasks for the party organizations in production. They must now do far better political work in assuring the correlation of interests--always with regard to economic interests--and provide for optimum economic results through indoctrinating and mobilizing the working people.

The management system is no panacea, let alone a model. We do not think the spreading of market relations is something that opposes socialism, yet our party also rejects those views that recommend an unconstrained market economy.

Many contradictions still bring about tensions in our socialist system. Not all of them, however, block our development. Many of them are propelling tensions and contradictions. Without them, we would even become stagnant. One such contradiction is found, e.g., between distribution according to performance and to social equality. Another one, between central management and local self-reliance. And there are others. Then there are also undesirable manifestations and side-effects that are putting a brake on development and which we have to fight against also by administrative means (income not gained through labor or excessively high salaries, bureaucratism, speculation, forcing up prices and so forth). The correct solution for it, however, is impossible without a rich choice among merchandise and a relative equilibrium between supply and demand.

Concerns and problems we have plenty, but our social order is firm, the country's domestic situation is in balance, and we are working on the construction of socialist society. The 13th MSZMP Congress will present our people with the kind of program that can tap new power sources for socialist construction and show a way out of the difficult situation the country is in today. Two important points ought to be made here.

The first point is the economic program. Relying on the results of the last 5 years, on the fraternal countries in the community of socialist states, the strength of CEMA, the chance of a moderate economic boom is ahead in the years to come. We have to get the kind of economic growth--as is the party's goal--that makes possible a higher standard of living through a powerful and diversified development of intensive economic management and through tapping the reserves that exist in the economy for further improving the equilibrium, a gradual and selective upgrading of the material-technical base of the economy. The Seventh Five-Year Plan is meant to become a program for sound economic growth and development. Foundations for a perceptible development of the standard of living are to be laid through better economic management, higher achievements and an improved labor discipline.

The other point is the program for the further development of the administrative and people's representation system. After the counties were eliminated, there is now a two-level administration through which--together with many changes in economic management--the in-house responsibility of the people's representations in communities and towns is to be raised. The new regulation on voting for deputies of parliament and of the local people's representations and the expanded competencies of the people's representations also aim at expanding this responsibility of theirs, at the modernization of the system of political institutions and at the strengthening of democracy.

Our country's liberation and the transformations in our country and among our neighbors 40 years ago created favorable international conditions for Hungary's working people for finally building up their country themselves. Creating socialist social relations at the same time turned our country into a part of that alliance system, that community, which today represents the front rank of human progress. The close and irrevocable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries--therein lies the most important international bedrock for our independent and secure existence and our economic and social development.

In terms of the given circumstances Hungary still belongs among the small countries, developing under conditions that are open to the world, on which the external environment has much more of an impact than it could affect the world political processes. It is our basic interest, even so, that our country takes part in the efforts, as its possibilities permit, made to reverse the perilous international processes.

That humanity today is threatened by greater dangers than ever, that its existence and civilization are at stake in the deepest sense of the word, is surely no exaggeration. The aspirations of the extremist imperialist circles--especially those of U.S. monopoly capital--after destroying the military equilibrium have intensified the military and political confrontation between the two world systems and are leading to an acceleration and escalation of the arms race with consequences hardly foreseeable.

The perilous situation also has challenged Hungarian foreign policy into higher activity. Our country endorses the Soviet proposals to guarantee a military balance on the lowest possible level. In the Warsaw Pact organization, our country is making its contribution to the joint defense efforts, to elaborating

the initiatives and proposals for reducing the arms race and promoting mutual trust, and it also dedicates itself at international conferences and within the scope of bilateral relations to having them enforced. We also take part in the efforts of the Stockholm Conference in the spirit of the coordinated foreign policy line of the socialist countries. As an event of great importance we regard the European Culture Forum to be held in our country's capital in the fall of 1985. As host and participant we shall make every effort so that this event, by promoting, disseminating and exchanging cultures, can make a serious contribution to reinforcing mutual understanding and trust among the peoples on the continent.

We are convinced we can and must break out of the vicious circle of an escalating arms race and distrust. To create an atmosphere necessary for actual negotiations we absolutely need regular contacts between the member states of the opposing military alliances and between countries with differing social orders altogether, to clarify the standpoints and engage in dialogue for better comprehending those positions. The Hungarian People's Republic--like other European socialist countries--has in the recent past been very busy in keeping up this process and finding a counter-weight to the designs that lead into Cold War.

Our people, working on the construction of socialism, has a fundamental interest in seeing that our allies, the fraternal socialist peoples, solve the tasks of their own socialist construction with success. We deem it indispensable to make an effective contribution to achieving common goals and speeding up the development of the various socialist countries by expanding bilateral and multilateral relations, deepening socialist integration and the forms of cooperation, and the modernization of methods.

A fact of history is that the Hungarian revolutionary workers movement could become a society-forming force under the influences, to a not insignificant extent, from the German workers movement. Not until socialist construction, however, has a cooperation developed between our two countries that serves the true cause, the good of both nations and the interests of human progress. The GDR is today our country's second most important socialist economic partner. Our development proceeds on the basis of the universal inevitabilities of socialism. Along with a substantial equality in solution methods, there is a variety of forms, and that only underscores the importance of becoming familiar with the partner's experiences.

Under socialist conditions, also the relations going back for centuries between Hungarian and German science, education and culture have gained new substance and assumed broader dimensions than ever. Cooperation in this field supplements political and economic relations well. Together with the increase in tourism, it helps our peoples in becoming more familiar with their respective successes and cares and closer friends still.

Our socialist construction greatly depends also on the shaping of international relations. Given all the dangers, we yet are optimistic. Above and beyond the strength and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the showing made by the nonaligned states and the ever more resolutely expressed will to peace by the peoples, we also take account of the fact that a

significant portion of the leading circles in the capitalist world likewise is intent on peaceful relations between countries with differing social orders. We are confident that in the outcome achieved in the course of the detente process as a system of accords and institutions lies a promise for the future, that previous results can in fact be developed further.

Through its successful construction of socialist society and its consistent and initiative-rich foreign policy, the Hungarian People's Republic will in the future also seek to push the favorable international processes ahead and be dedicated to the cause of peace and socialism.

5885

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YUGOSLAVIA

MEETING ON FINAL OPERATIONS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

First Day's Proceedings

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Apr (TANJUG)--The 2-day scientific meeting Concluding Operations for the Liberation of Yugoslavia began in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Club in Belgrade today. Prominent military leaders of wartime and postwar generations, prominent sociopolitical workers and most eminent Yugoslav military and political theoreticians and historians are taking part in the meeting's work which is of a general Yugoslav nature.

The meeting was opened by Colonel General Petar Gracanin, JNA Chief of General Staff, and those taking part were greeted by Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, members of the SFRY Presidency, Ali Sukrija, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. Presidium members, representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of the federation and of the city of Belgrade, members of the wartime Supreme Headquarters and of the headquarters of army corps and divisions which took part in the final operations for the liberation of Yugoslavia and senior JNA officers followed the proceedings of the meeting.

The meeting today is the concluding meeting in the series of work meetings and roundtable discussions which were held up and down our country last year and this year in connection with the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism.

The conclusions of the meeting today were reached through an extensive scientific and research discussion on the final operations and on the victory of our nations and nationalities over invaders and domestic traitors and pointed out the contribution made by the Yugoslav revolution to the joint allied victory in WWII. The meeting also pointed out the fact that our revolution was completely authentic and that the national liberation war experience represents a lasting inspiration for new generations for the defense organization of our society through reliance on our own resources and our own defense concept.

Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that he was especially gratified to be able to greet prominent wartime military and



political leaders-commanders and political commissars of the divisions, army corps and armies of the National Liberation Army and of partisan detachments of Yugoslavia.

In welcoming speech Djuranovic then pointed out the need and importance of scientific and research activity in order to objectively and comprehensively understand the experience gained in the leadership and command of the national liberation struggle. We are duty bound to consider this, particularly from the point of view of using this experience in implementing the concept of a national war of defense in modern conditions, added Djuranovic, because political conditions and relations in the present day world constantly confirm the lasting value of Tito's thought about the need to work as if peace was to last for 100 years but to get ready as if war might break out tomorrow. I am recalling this aspect of our strategy in the struggle to preserve our independence and freedom because there is no let up in tension in the international situation, despite certain intimations of improvement.

The strength of our national liberation struggle and revolution lay in the strength of the broadest people's masses, brought together on the platform of the Yugoslav Communist Party for the struggle for national and social liberation. It was a strength founded on brotherhood and a unity created through that struggle, founded on the people and their belief in a better life after the liberation, in their conviction that there is no going back to cold conditions, said Djuranovic. Today and tomorrow these are the basic factors of our defense and nothing can replace this kind of motivation of the people to defend their country. This is why the defense-protection interests of our country require our present economic and social problems to be resolved faster and more efficiently so as to strengthen more substantially the social and material position of our working people and in so doing to permanently strengthen their positive attitude towards the highest values of our national liberation struggle, revolution and socialist construction--towards freedom and independence, brotherhood and unity of all our nations and nationalities, and a better and happier life under socialism.

Veselin Djuranovic recalled that the LCY Central Committee had decisively defined its action to consolidate ideopolitical and action unity because this is the over-riding condition to overcome the basic causes blocking the action of socialist self-management forces in the struggle to overcome the economic crisis. This is also the way to a broader, more powerful and efficient offensive action against the tendencies and attacks of nationalism of all kinds, and against its causes which are present either in the LC itself or in sections of our economic system or indeed in the still strong vestiges of the past. Finally, this is the way to further democratization of social relations.

To give life to the all-people's defense concept and the concept of the development of our armed forces on this basis and also to promote the doctrine of all-people's liberation war in all its aspects, and its application in present-day conditions, unequivocally implies clear objectives and tasks on the one hand, and full reliance on the broadest strata of our population, on the other.

In recalling the Yugoslav contribution to the victory over fascism, Djuranovic stressed that the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, led by the Communist Party and Tito during their 4 years of struggle against the sinister forces of fascism had made a significant contribution to the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. This contribution must be spoken of objectively and with dignified sentiments.

The president of the SFRY presidency added that all members of the anti-Hitler coalition had made a contribution to victory over fascism and that this contribution must be valued. It is undeniable that the heaviest brunt of the war against fascism was borne by the peoples of the USSR. They suffered the heaviest human casualties and material destruction. The Red Army played a decisive role in breaking the fascist powers militarily. The peoples of socialist Yugoslavia can appreciate the casualties and the contribution made by the countries who had joined together in the struggle against Hitler's Germany and its fascist allies. However, they rightly expect their victims and contribution to be valued and respected in the same way.

The peoples of our country did not start their struggle against the fascist Axis powers at a time when the Red Army in its victorious advance was marching outside the borders of the USSR. Our national liberation struggle began when the need was greatest and at the time when the situation was most difficult.

At its very beginning our struggle went beyond the character of a resistance movement. It was an armed uprising. In terms of its liberation army, size and permanency of liberated territory, the number of the Axis military forces pinned down and casualties inflicted on the fascist aggressor, the Yugoslav front was one of the most constantly open and strongest fronts of struggle against Nazi Germany and its fascist allies. From 80,000 men in the first and most difficult year of war, the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia in the concluding year of the war had grown into a liberation army of about 800,000 men organized into divisions, army corps and armies ready and capable of conducting final large scale operations for the liberation of the country. Over 305,000 men and women perished in the ranks of the national liberation army and of the partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, out of a total of 1.7 million casualties suffered by the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia during WWII; This testifies clearly to the Yugoslav share in and contribution to victory over the forces of fascism. Yugoslavia was the only country in enslaved Europe where liberated territory existed from the beginning to the end of the war, and in which a liberation army was set up without direct reliance on the military forces and fronts maintained by the USSR, UK and the U.S. Allied help began to arrive only after the national liberation movement, the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia had won decisive military and political victories over fascist occupiers, laying the foundations of a new Yugoslavia in wartime. Finally, said Djuranovic, according to well known statements made during the way by the highest leaders of individual countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the liberation struggle of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia was an example and incentive for other European peoples to offer resistance and rise in struggle against the fascist powers.

Veselin Djuranovic then stressed that we recalled with pride the leader of our revolution and supreme commander of NOV and PJ [National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia], Josip Broz Tito, and his great contribution to our struggle and victory. His contribution and achievements are of lasting value. The force of Tito's thought and deeds as a political and military strategist inspired and guided our national liberation struggle until its victorious conclusion. Relying for support on political and military abilities of a great number of celebrated commanders of our revolution, of prominent partisan commanders and of political commissars who, during the struggle and the war and parallel with our struggle's successful development and extent of military operations from company and battalion commander growing into prominent commanders and political commissars of brigades, divisions, army corps and armies in the most difficult moments of our national liberation struggle, deeply delving into all conditions and circumstances of the conduct of the liberation war and expertly giving purpose to its developments, in keeping with the development of the situation, Tito successfully guided the ship of our national liberation struggle and revolution until final victory, said Djuranovic.

Col Gen Petar Gracanin, JNA chief of the general staff and chairman of the organization committee for the meeting, spoke about the concluding offensive of the Yugoslav Army for the final liberation of the country.

The concluding offensive for the liberation of Yugoslavia was in fact the continuation of the campaign of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army which had started in the summer of 1944. During the stationary phase of the fighting on the Srem Front, Hercegovina and a part of Bosnia, Dalmatia and the whole of Vojvodina were liberated with the exception of a small part of Srem. This established a strategic front between the Danube and the Adriatic. During this operation, he added, a meeting, direct contact and cooperation with allied forces occurred for the first time during the national liberation war, that is, with the 3d Ukrainian Front of the Red Army. This was not a spontaneous meeting, or a forcible entry of allies on to the Yugoslav territory, but a planned and agreed interallied cooperation in the struggle against a joint enemy.

At the time of the meeting between our and Soviet forces on the Eastern borders of our country, in terms of its numerical and overall strength our revolutionary army was the third allied military force in Europe, immediately behind the Red Army and the armed forces of Great Britain.

Gracanin added that immediately prior to the offensive on the Srem Front on 7 March 1945 Marshal Tito formed a provisional government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. He renamed the then National Defense Mission the National Defense Ministry, as a government organ. The functions of the premier, supreme commander and national defense minister were unified in the person of Marshal Josip Broz Tito. In a statement the provisional government stated, among other things, that its main task was finally to liberate the entire Yugoslav territory and, in this connection, to strengthen its armed forces. The allies and many other neutral countries soon recognized this government.

In preparing the offensive for the final liberation of Yugoslavia the NOV and POJ Supreme Hq took measures at the beginning of 1945 to reach an agreement with the allies, the USSR, U.S. and UK and their armed forces in Hungary and Italy, on the areas of action and coordination of actions in the final operation.

During his 21 and 24 February 1945 meetings with Field Marshal Alexander, commander of allied forces in the Mediterranean, Marshal Tito reached an agreement that operations should begin by 30 March in Lika, Gorski Kotar, Slovene Primorska and Carinthia so as to tie down the German C Group of Armies operative reserves in that area and facilitate operations in Northern Italy.

In addition, agreement was reached with Marshal Tolbukhin on cooperation with Bulgarian units in operations in Western Hungary and Austria and Yugoslav units in the border areas north of rivers Drava and Mura in Medjumurje, Prekmurje and Stajerska.

In contrast to the previous stages when the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia operated within total strategic encirclement, in the course of the closing stage of the national liberation war very intensive cooperation between the allies was achieved despite the fact that the national liberation movement was not formally included in the anti-Hitler coalition. This implies that for a true alliance to be attained there must exist an identity of goals, above all the strategic ones. Such an identity has greater cohesive powers than any formal treaty or military alliances or blocs. The basic prerequisite for such an alliance to be attained is to have real military forces available as a guarantee that in a joint struggle appropriate military effects can be achieved aimed at attaining or protecting identical political and strategic goals, the latter being of primary importance. The experience and lesson of the national liberation war in general, and of the closing stages in particular, have a lasting value for our present day military policy and doctrine in the sense that they have helped us to understand that although it does not belong and will never belong to any of the military blocs, our country should never again, when defending itself, remain isolated or find itself in such an exceptionally difficult situation as the national liberation movement did in 1941, Col Gen Petar Gracanin stressed.

The first to take part in the discussion was Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo, who spoke about the military-political character of the national liberation war and about the closing operations for the liberation of the country in particular.

Continuing his debate Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo said we should not and must not allow certain attempts being made nowadays to explain the war and past events from the point of view of the present and in relation to present circumstances. In other words, it is unhistoric to transpose our current contradictions and disagreements in our political and social life to war-time. In the same way that we rightly challenge attempts by others to falsify history, we must oppose similar attempts here, at home.

Col Gen Velimir Knezevic spoke about the 2d Army's operations during the final offensive.

The offensive repeatedly broke through a series of the enemy's defense lines over a distance of over 250 km, crossed the rivers Bosna, Vrbas, Una and Kupa and achieved a rate of advance of 8 km a day, though it did not possess any armored or motorized units.

Our science of history and especially that part of it concerned with questions of our nations' and nationalities' more recent political history, has identified several landmarks which had a crucial effect on the latter developments in our area and on our historical position in Balkan and European relations, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, said. One can see the national liberation war in all its historical greatness only in the context of these crucial, decisive events of our more recent history.

Mamula then recalled the so-called Eastern crisis, which was partly resolved at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, and the two Balkan wars and the First World War. However, he added, it is the national liberation war which represents a landmark in our history which radically changed our history's course and process.

Despite unprecedented ideological and political propaganda, all kinds of divisions (historical, political, religious) and occupation government and a multitude of puppet regimes the national liberation war literally united all our nations and nationalities--it goes without saying that I am referring only to their patriotic sections--around the platform of the national liberation struggle, Mamula said.

The national liberation war was also a synthesis of the national liberation struggle and the revolutionary struggle, two aspects of the same process of liberation of the people and the working masses from all the forms of oppression--national deprivation and social exploitation.

It was no accident that the invaders and occupiers tried to spread the belief and prove that Yugoslavia was untenable as a state community because of centuries of divisions among our nations, their different cultural development, and ties with Eastern or Western traditions and cultures and that the difference between the East and West manifested itself as one of the fundamental contradictions of the epoch most clearly and sharply in Yugoslavia, dividing it into two opposing traditions and cultures. Many people still try to prove this today and many go on hoping that future history will prove them right. The national liberation war, however, convincingly disproved this thesis. From it emerged the model of a new type of state community--the only possible one in view of the given structure and characteristics of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

The establishment of Yugoslavia as a state of equal nations and nationalities on a democratic basis created a strong barrier against the negative influence exercised by the great powers on the Balkan states. It goes without saying that as a process these influences continue to exist, but the forms and substance of this process are different, Mamula stressed.

By means of our national liberation war, we were able, very actively and for the first time in our history, to world events powerfully influence, he recalled. By giving our full contribution to the allied victory over fascism, we took our place alongside the great protagonists of modern history, in keeping, of course, with our capability and, in many ways and on the basis of fully accepted criteria, even considerably beyond our capabilities.

In this connection he stressed a number of facts:

Our nation's and nationalities' freedom-loving aspirations, encouraged by the Yugoslav Communist Party and fully supported by it, led to the abrogation of the tripartite treaty and that led to the German attack on Yugoslavia on 6 April. No doubt, this in many ways upset the dynamism with which fascist Germany pursued some of its strategic goals. It may be said that this also caused a certain revision of the German strategic plans, such as the postponement of the Barbarossa operation for more than a month. In view of the conditions at the time and of what was shown to be the USSR's insufficient preparedness for war, the postponement was of strategic importance. Also, Yugoslavia had the third highest losses among the allied countries, behind the USSR and Poland.

The main contribution of the national liberation war to our epoch lies primarily in proving and demonstrating and demonstrating in practice that a relatively small and underdeveloped country could struggle successfully against a great power. This experience we gained is definitely a significant contribution to the process of historically awakening the people, which particularly intensified during the anticolonial revolution after WWII and acquired a universal world significance, Branko Mamula stressed.

Branko Mamula went on to stress that it is difficult to find another example in the history of modern war and revolution in which a leading social force started the war and set itself such radical political and military goals through it possessed hardly any organized military power for the realization of these goals, as the Yugoslav Communist Party headed by Tito did in 1941.

At the end of his speech, Mamula stressed that the origins of all the vital orientations in our post-war social development and all the pillars and corner-stones of Yugoslavia as a new community of nations and nationalities represent elements of the new political philosophy of our society, a philosophy conceived during the national liberation war. Our victory in that war, however, was not important solely for our nations and nationalities. By virtue of its messages and lessons, it has become a world achievement and phenomenon. Every movement that relied on its own resources during the

struggle for freedom and independence during its own authentic revolution was given its original impetus in our revolution and national liberation war. In this way our national liberation war has taken its place among the epoch-making world changes that brought to the world stage a series of new social and international phenomena, exceeding the frontiers of the area in which they took place and towing over the world at the time they emerged, Branko Mamula said.

Col Gen Bosko Siljegovic spoke in detail about the operations conducted by the 4th Army in the area of the Littoral. He said that the 4th Army, which was formed on 2 March 1945 with about 70,000 men, faced forces consisting of two complete German corps and numerous quisling units whose task was to defend the approaches to Istria and Trieste.

The 4th Army's offensive, Siljegovic said, was carried out in an organized manner in the form of two successive operations, the first in the area of Like and the Littoral and the second in the area of Rijeka and Trieste. During political and military talks with the Western allies, it became obvious that they wanted to reestablish the old border between Italy and Yugoslavia and, since the British and American forces were also advancing from northern Italy toward Trieste, there was no time to lose; there could be no delays in liberating Trieste. Any such delay would have meant that all the sacrifices and suffering of the people of Istria and the Slovene Littoral were not going to yield the results the people had aspired for. The 4th Army's command issued general orders on 29 April to the 4th Army's forces to press on with the attack aimed at encircling and destroying the German corps and at the same time to advance rapidly in the direction of Trieste. During its march toward Trieste, the 20th Division reached the approaches to the town in the evening on 29 April and the next day, together with the 20th, 43d and 9th divisions, carried out the tactical encirclement of the German garrison. Trieste was liberated on 1 May 1945, with the exception of the garrison at Opicine, where resistance continued till 3 May.

The 4th Army's operations were carried out in complex military-political and international circumstances, especially on account of the Western allies' desire to get into Istria and Trieste and the Slovene Littoral before the 4th Army. These circumstances were the fundamental reason why the Supreme Command ordered the 4th Army to advance rapidly to the Isonzo River and the reason why the 4th Army's command subordinated all other operational considerations, such as protecting its flanks and the rear, to this task.

Colonel-General Ivan Dolnicar described the way in which the enemy forces in the northwestern part of the country were encircled, later capitulating. He recalled that on 7 May 1945 Hitler's successor, Admiral Doenitze ordered his troops to stop all resistance against the British and the Americans and retreat before the Red Army and the Yugoslav Army in order to create conditions in which as many Germans as possible could be saved from "Bolshevism and slavery." The fact that no one was ordered to have talks with the Yugoslav Army proves that the Germans were determined to resist our forces as hard as they could.



In view of our army's successes already achieved, the command of the 4th operational zone ordered the 14th Division to reach the Yugoslav-Austrian border as early as possible, capture Klagenfurt and other more important places in Carinthia and occupy the bridges across the Drava and all the border crossings. The same day the headquarters for Slovenia received the following order by radio from Tito: "The Germans are capitulating to the British and American forces in Italy, the Tyrol and Carinthia. Immediately send the 14th Division to Carinthia toward Klagenfurt with the task of capturing Klagenfurt and our other areas in Carinthia." The Kokra detachment and a part of the Carinthian national liberation detachment entered Klagenfurt on 8 May at the same time as the Western allies' forces. In fact the 14th Shock Division, together with the above two detachments, was in control in the early hours of 9 May of the entire Klagenfurt valley and the area south of Glinica. The British appeared in these areas only in the evening of 9 May. Thus, Dolnicar said, by joining the motorized troops of the 4th Army and parts of the 3d Army with the units of the 4th operational zone, the strategic ring around the German, Ustasha, Home Guard and Chetnik forces in Slovenia was closed. All that remained to be done was to break down the enemy's resistance, ensure his capitulation, disarm and capture him in the northern part of Slovenia and in Southern Carinthia.

One of the questions which has to be mentioned in connection with this stage of the war, Dolnicar said, is that of coordination and cooperation between the Bulgarian 1st Army and the forces of the Yugoslav Army, and the role of former during the pursuit of the enemy forces and during the creation of the conditions needed to encircle and capture them. After parts of the 2d German Armored Army mainly retreated after the capitulation before part of the 3d Ukrainian Front, to which the Bulgarian 1st Army was subordinated, the Bulgarian units, being in possession of vehicles needed to transport troops, rapidly reached the weakly defended Slovene locations which could easily have been liberated by Slovene partisan units and even by the local population.

It should be noted that the local and territorial partisan units, together with the units of KNOJ [Yugoslav National Defense Corps], were always the first forces to attack such places, as was the case throughout Medjimurje, the Slovenske Gorice hills, at Ptuj, at Maribor and other places. However, there were also attempts by Bulgarian units to organize their administration in a number of places, though it was known that the people's administration had already been active in underground conditions in these areas. The attempt to deny the people's administration was a violation of the agreement on the basis of which Bulgarian units were authorized to operate on our territory. Toward the end of 9 May General Lehr agreed to the capitulation of his forces. Some of the German units nevertheless refused to lay down arms, thus prolonging the fighting. However, Ustasha, the Croatia Home Guard and the Chetnik forces continued to resist.

Their final defeat came in the area of Poljana on 14 May and, on 15 May, south of Bleiburg, where 40,000 Ustashes including 12 Ustasha generals were captured along with about 5,000 Chetniks and several thousand civilians. This victory marked the end of all organized resistance by the enemy of our territory and the completion of the battle for the liberation of Yugoslavia.



In the final stage of the offensive carried out by the Yugoslav Army for the final liberation of the country, about 341,000 of the enemy were captured, including 221,000 occupiers and about 120,000 quislings, while about 100,000 were killed. On this occasion it should be stated that the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, faithful to its principles and adhering to international conventions on prisoners of war, repatriated all the prisoners of war with the exception of 1,300 who were tried for war crimes before people's courts.

#### Second Day's Proceedings

LD251255 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--The 2d day of the scientific meeting on Concluding Operations for the Liberation of Yugoslavia was opened with reports by Academician Dr Mihajlo Apostolski, Colonel-General Itmar Kreacic and Colonel-General Vicko Antic.

Academician Mihajlo Apostolski spoke of the role of liberated parts of Yugoslavia in the concluding operations. Otmar Kreacic devoted his report to the report to the importance of the moral factor in the national liberation war and to the specific features of party political work in the concluding offensives for the liberation of the country, while Colonel-General Vicko Antic spoke of the actions by KNOJ [Yugoslav National Defense Corps, the Yugoslav border guards] to destroy the remnants of counterrevolutionary forces behind the lines.

"During the concluding operations," said academician Apostolski, "when we had established a physical link with the Western allies, we had to continue the implementation of Tito's concept that we should bring about the liberation of our country by our own means--which would secure our full freedom in our development--especially regarding the internal system in our country; that is, to ensure independence, freedom to choose our socio-political system and to conduct an independent foreign policy. All this amounted to an inexorable demand that the liberated parts of Yugoslavia should be readied as soon as possible to fulfill the role of an operative base in the concluding operations. The masses responded to this with the slogan: 'Everything for the front, everything for victory,' and this slogan became full reality."

Otmar Kreacic said that the call for an armed uprising made on 4 July 1941 was a brilliant revolutionary assessment of the situation in the country and in the world, and an example of courage displayed by the leadership of the Yugoslav CP, evoking the admiration of the world. It would have been difficult to find another country in which the situation was so complex and so unfavorable for an uprising to be launched, and an armed struggle against fascist invaders to be started. The unequivocal and timely formulation of the objectives of the liberation struggle was essential for combat morale. These objectives were to fight for and establish a new Yugoslavia, equal community of all our nations and nationalities, a more equitable and better life for all working people, all of which gave the platform of the national

liberation struggle a progressive and a general Yugoslav character and enabled patriots of all our nations and nationalities to rally around it.

Speaking about the actions taken by KNOJ and OZNA [Department for the Protection of the People, Yugoslav state security force] to destroy remnants of counterrevolutionary forces behind the lines, Col-Gen Vicko Antic stressed that the KNOJ and OZNA tasks and activities in the preparations for the concluding operations were specific. In relation to the general contribution to victory over the counterrevolutionaries, these actions were of a strategic dimension. In addition to mopping up enemy groups, saboteurs and spies in liberated territories, KNOJ units also fought enemy operational forces on nonliberated territory and supplied our operative forces with intelligence reports. By constant and vigorous activity they prevented any enemy attempt to threaten consolidation of life and work on liberated territories, that is to say they secured state borders, communications and important installations. In so doing they helped our units to be maximally efficient in inflicting defeat on the enemy. Prior to the beginning of concluding operations the quisling forces had 234,000 armed members, out of whom about 204,000 were on the nonliberated and about 30,000 on liberated territory.

Together with German forces, these forces offered resistance to the final capitulation, finally seeking rescue by fleeing from the country. Reactionary forces in the world could not reconcile themselves to the fact that KNOJ decisions were being implemented in Yugoslavia. Resorting to various means and devices, and especially by activating the intelligence service and by propaganda activities, they tried to undermine the achievements of our national liberation war and the revolution. Prior to the beginning of final operations, KNOJ had about 120,000 men, seven divisions, three independent brigades and other units. At the end of the war two more divisions were formed. Between the beginning of 1945 to 1947 KNOJ units destroyed or took prisoner about 116,000 members of various counterrevolutionary and quisling forces. Close cooperation between KNOJ and OZNA and socio-political organizations and the people deprived the counterrevolutionary forces of both scope and opportunity to carry out their objectives. The people have been and have remained the source for obtaining information and took direct part in the actions. This is one of the most essential factors which helped the counterrevolutionary forces to be uncovered and destroyed, said Vicko Antic.

The first speaker in the discussion was Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency.

A speech was also made by Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY Presidency.

Col-Gen Milos Sumonja spoke about the combat role of the IV Corps during the 4th Army's operations.

Bojan Polak spoke about the combat role of KNOJ in Slovenia and Academician Mihajlo Apostolski suggested that there should be a detailed analysis of the national liberation war during the Second World War. He also said that the

national liberation struggle did not call for any help from the Bulgarians, who were exaggerating their contribution. The contribution made by the Bulgarians was insignificant, Apostolski said. He also pointed out the need to speed up the coordination of views on the writing of a history of the national liberation struggle as an important document for studying our revolution.

Svetozar Vukmanovic-Tempo pointed out that the Yugoslav revolution was a socialist one, the first one to take place after the October Revolution. The place occupied by our revolution should be also studied more deeply in the context of its contribution to the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

In his final speech, Col-Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, said that the scientific meeting represented a very important political and cultural event. The meeting, which brought together high-ranking political and military personalities of the war period and the period of our self-managing socialist society's and its Armed Forces' post-war modern development, Gracanin said, provided an actual demonstration and very powerful manifestation of the continuity of our revolution and of its revolutionary cadre. By virtue of the form and method of its scientific and theoretical work this meeting has made a significant contribution to the comprehensive elucidation not only of the events connected with the Yugoslav Army's final offensive for the liberation of all the parts of our country, but also of some other events which took place during the national liberation war and the revolution. Some of the already well known facts were again confirmed and more fully elucidated during the discussion, while some new ones were noted and established. New conclusions, assessments and experiences related to our modern military thinking and practice were evaluated from current and future requirements of the concept and doctrine of all-people's defense and social self-protection, Col-Gen Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, said.

#### Dolanc Speech

LD251353 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 24 Apr 85

["Report on speech by Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, at the Scientific Meeting on the Final Operations for the Liberation of the Country"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--This scientific meeting shows that our national liberation struggle and its values are still our strongest bonds of unity because they are the foundation of our unity, regardless of whether or not we have held different views in post-war years on one political action or another or on one aspect of our policy or another, Stane Dolanc said.

Speaking about the Yugoslav Communist Party's attitude to fascism since 1935 and the preparations for the uprising, he stressed that the uprising in Yugoslavia would have taken place if there had been no directive from the

Comintern, because Tito, the Politburo and the party recognized the moment, sensed the mood of the masses and understood conditions in Yugoslavia, and started the uprising against the occupiers and internal traitors.

I listened to the reports and contributions to the discussion giving details of encircling moves, maneuvers, armies, divisions, and so forth, but, Dolanc continued, it is also a fact that at the time of the final operations we had behind and before us millions of our people, who had accepted the national liberation struggle and the revolution as their own. We had a properly organized people's administration throughout Slovenia and beyond what were the borders of Slovenia at that time--in Venezia Giulia, in Trieste, in Carinthia.

We also met British units in Carinthia at that time. We must them on Austrian soil. Yesterday it was stated that no other army in Europe had been created and had grown in the same way as ours and liberated its country as ours did, even crossing the Reich's border. It is difficult to describe what went on there--we, the British, columns of prisoners, here and there well-armed SS units, Ustasha units, Home Guard units, Gestapo men in disguise, war criminals, and so forth.

There is just one problem I want to talk about, because the papers in the West have been full of this. I am referring to prisoners. In Britain it has been published that we executed 300,000 German prisoners of war--Germans, quislings and so forth. In some places lower figures are given but I have not seen one lower than 60,000. Now members of the Ustasha fascist emigration are preparing to hold a commemoration in honor of these victims in Bleiburg, Austria, at which Yugoslavia is to be condemned for crimes allegedly committed there at that time by Slovene partisans and other Yugoslav units; mainly this is aimed at the Slovene partisans.

We executed virtually nobody at the time. All the prisoners were taken to Maribor, where a vast number of them were immediately released. I am not saying, Dolanc added, that there were no liquidations. There were. Punishment was meted out to criminals guilty of causing the death of and torturing hundreds of thousands of our innocent people, and of plundering and burning. We say today that the war ended formally on 9 May. In Slovenia the last battle took place on 15 May, when we lost several hundred men, 7 days, that is, after the formal end of the war. However, in Yugoslavia war went on for at least another 2 years. During these 2 years we lost several thousand members of KNOJ [Yugoslav People's Defense Corps], OZNA [Department for the Protection of the People] and of the regular units of the Yugoslav People's Army in fighting the remnants of these bands, not to mention the crimes committed against innocent civilians, councillors, members of cooperatives, and so on and so forth. The war went on in our entire country. And if we fought in this war, if we went into action in this war armed and behaved as soldiers and revolutionaries, we have full political and moral justification for doing so.

It is interesting, Dolanc noted, that all this being raised now, 40 years since the war. There is no doubt that this is being done now not because anyone feels sorry for a White Guard Chetnik or Ustasha executed by us, but because they want to exploit our present situation and discredit the revolution and cause these countries even greater difficulties than its present ones. There is a definite alliance or link in this respect between those people in our country who detest our Yugoslavia and those abroad who detest it. Self-managing and nonaligned Yugoslavia is the main target under attack.

I think, he said, that definite conclusions should be drawn from what went on at this meeting. Its message should be reaffirmed in the country, because there are people who call into question the basic values of the revolution. It should be stated very clearly that there can be no national reconciliation even on the basis of treating victims in the same way, because on one side were those who were fighting for a new, better life, for justice, for people; on the other side were those who wanted to enslave the world and turn humans into robots and were making use to this end of every possible inhuman means to this end. The vast majority of our people think the same as we do, but they ask us to be more energetic, to be clear, concrete and united in implementing our policy. Even when they criticize us they do not want any reconciliation with what happened in the Second World War. Our people see their national and social future only in a socialist self-managing country like our Yugoslavia, federal and based on equality for all its nations and nationalities.

Another message: the concept of all-people's defense, which has been accepted in our country, is not an SFRY concept alone and not a Slovene, Croat or Macedonian concept alone. The concepts of all-people's defense of Slovenia and of others are components of the concept of all-people's defense of the SFRY. In war and in peace we are unable to succeed one without the other. The federation consists of the republics and provinces, and our plans and concepts of development in peacetime and defense in time of war represent a dialectical, interdependent whole with a common destiny. In that lies our strength, Stane Dolanc said.

#### Ljubcic Addresses Meeting

SL251543 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 25 Apr 85

["Report on Speech by General Nikola Ljubcic, Member of the SFRY Presidency, at the Scientific Meeting on the Final Operation for the Liberation of the Country"--TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--The purpose of our work is to study the history of the national liberation war, not only for the sake of the past, for history's sake, but also for the sake of our future. We do not know what the future will bring and our future generation should consequently be ready to defend the achievements of the revolution, Nikola Ljubcic said, adding that the task is not only to preserve the achievements of the national liberation war and the revolution, but also to continue to develop socialist self-managing society.

Ljubicic went on to stress the leading role of political factors in our national liberation war, which had always defined the goals and tasks of military strategy and allocated the forces and resources needed for their realization. This meant that military strategy was an essential, but not the sole, instrument of war and revolution. The decision to wage a national liberation war, which was by its social character an all-people's war and in the military sense a combined war, paved the way for the leadership of the national liberation movement and for military strategy to pursue a new form and method of war, which had not then yet become widely known either in theory or in practice and which was new in many ways.

The history and theory of military leadership, he said, recognized partisan war as an auxiliary form of waging war, which was reduced to a secondary role of providing a smaller or greater degree of assistance to the regular army at the front. It is well known that we did not have a regular army and the leadership of the national liberation war did not contemplate the possibility of reducing the Yugoslav peoples' struggle to the role of the allied armies auxiliaries. To do so would have run counter to our clear political-revolutionary and military-strategic goals and counter to the basic principle of the struggle--that of reliance on our own resources, which the Communist Party and the leadership of the national liberation uprising practiced from the first day in our theater of war.

Ljubicic went on to note that when one wants to assess individual events of the national liberation war one has to bear in mind the contemporaneous internal and foreign political factors and their influence on the creation, transformation and development of the armed forces and their use. The liberation of the country did not call only for the defeat and [word indistinct] of the occupation forces from Yugoslavia, but also for the national and social liberation of every one and all of our nations and nationalities, and the creation of conditions for equality, freedom, brotherhood and unity. These were the foundations of our victory and of building today's new socialist self-managing Yugoslavia.

In realizing its strategic concept, the leadership of the national liberation movement created the appropriate armed forces in all the stages of our war, from the partisan detachments to brigades, divisions, corps and the modern revolutionary people's army with an authentic system and method of leadership and command. In this respect too, the national liberation war manifested itself as a new form of the liberation and revolutionary war, whose experience have since proved themselves during numerous liberation wars waged by enslaved peoples for their liberation since the Second World War, Nikola Ljubicic said, among other things.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY WRITERS PROTEST AT REPRESSION IN ARTS

PM231602 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Apr 85 p 9

[Paul Yankovich dispatch: "Yugoslavia: Writers Protest at 'Unenlightened Despotism'"]

[Text] Novi-Sad--With vigorous frankness, Yugoslav writers took advantage of their ninth union congress, which took place 18 through 20 April in Novi-Sad, capital of the autonomous Province of Vojvodina, to voice their displeasure with the bureaucrats who dominate the arts and to demand greater freedom of expression and the repeal of the "law on verbal crimes."

Held after several years of preparations (the eight congress was in 1975), the Novi-Sad Congress was awaited with a great sense of expectation because of the economic, political, and ideological disagreements within the state and party leadership, the frequent clashes between "nationalists" of several peoples and national minorities, and their repercussions on relations among writers. In any case there is no real Yugoslav literature but, rather, a juxtaposition of Servian, Croatian, Macedonian, Hungarian, Albanian and other literatures with differing, if not conflicting, traditions and concerns. It was therefore feared that the congress might engender further disputes and further complicate an already difficult overall situation.

However, a broad consensus emerged from the outset of the proceedings, surprising both the public and probably the government, whose defenders were hardly to be seen. Almost all the 80 speakers immediately, and without any apparent prior consultation, launched a virulent attack on the "repression" of creators of artistic and literary works, the "dogmatism" of the regime, the banning of books and periodicals, the violations of rights to freedom guaranteed by the constitution, and political trials designed to turn intellectuals into "submissive and obedient" citizens.

"We are not asking to be above society," Djoko Stojacic exclaimed, "but we refuse to be beneath society. The right to difference of opinion is not a political but a natural right." Igor Mandic, known for his outspokenness often colored with sarcasm and cynicism, said that communists in Zagreb had been urged to "silence" anyone criticizing the regime at the congress. On his opinion Yugoslav society is subjected to a "porno-bureaucratic"

government, and the promises of a "wonderful future" made to him have been confined to two "grim" institutions--the law on verbal crimes and the rule concerning citizens' "political and moral aptitude," which permits the elimination of anyone not sharing the official viewpoints.

In a flight of poetry interrupted by outright ovations, Mr Vesna Parun challenged the state's right to rule the individual. The ideology imposed by constraint is merely a drug, a guillotine, and politicians "poison the world and are its curse." "We expressed outrage before," she went on, "when we were shown the ghastly nature of enlightened despotism. There is worse--unenlightened despotism." Stressing that the writers were demanding not "heads" but simply a change in the incumbents in certain positions, she urged her colleagues to go hungry if need be or to sleep on straw, but to continue the struggle for culture, against the barbaric teaching given in schools and the assault on children's minds.

Zoran Gavrilotic, a teacher at Belgrade University, condemned the "dogmatic approach" imposed on cultural institutions. This approach lies behind the political trials of intellectuals accused of trying, through their spoken and written words, sometimes even just through the contents of their private diaries confiscated by the police, to "disturb the public," whereas politicians are not called to account for disturbing the public with inflation, which is now rampant.

Another speaker, Mr Mira Aleckovic, stressed the harm done to Yugoslavia abroad by the trials of intellectuals. She "often thinks" that repressive measures against intellectuals are the result of maneuvers by the enemy, who has "infiltrated among us to weaken us."

Several speakers advocated the need for continuous and fraternal relations between Yugoslav writers of all languages and nationalities who have become "entrenched" in the organizations of the republic or autonomous region, which according to Miodrag Bulatovic have become "autocephalous churches." Bulatovic said that they had turned the Yugoslav Writers' Union into a copy of the political system, thus preventing the circulation of ideas and the consolidation of a Yugoslav humanist ideal.

Virulent attacks were also launched on the editorial boards of periodicals whose columns are permanently open to the intellectuals of the regime, while those who "think for themselves" do not have access to them.

Of course, things being as they are in Yugoslavia, the congress did not take place without controversy between the representatives of the various national literatures. But they were only sparks promptly extinguished by the intervention of other delegates, the vast majority of whom displayed tolerance and good will. At the end of the proceedings the congress adopted a "message" demanding among other things the repeal of the law on "verbal crimes" and of the rule on "citizens' moral and political aptitude" and absolute freedom of creation, "the writer being the conscience of his time and of society."



As the president read out this "message" one writer asked to speak to point out that it contained no reference to the League of Communists or to the working class. He was asked to sit down and the document was adopted by acclamation....

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY WRITERS' PRESIDENT DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY VALUES

LD181719 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0147 GMT 18 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Novi-Sad, 18 Apr (TANJUG)--There is never enough freedom, particularly freedom for writers. Freedom is never simply given away or presented to anybody, be it a writer, a nation, or a revolution. A writer enjoys only as much freedom as he can fight for. Presented freedom is the shortest way to slavery, stressed Kole Casule, president of the Yugoslav Writers' Federation, in his introductory report.

But freedom means responsibility. And of all kinds of responsibility, responsibility toward one's own self is the greatest, the most complex, and the most difficult to bear. That is where all battles are being won and lost. Only through complete identification with revolution can a writer rid himself from fear from an enemy and, when misunderstood or if not understood, from revolution itself. We recognize revolution's right to defend itself because we are part of its defense, Casule said. However, what we cannot agree with and what we are against is revolution's lack of trust in its own creative, thinking forces.

Woe to the revolution which can be brought down by a single poem, a play or an excess, Casule said. He stressed that our revolution is called upon to remove, as soon as possible and as efficiently as possible, all barriers, including the last remaining barriers, and in that way set free all its creative forces and enable them to regain their confidence by fighting against counterrevolution.

We are living at a time when revolution's own values are being disrupted, at the height of attacks directed against it, at a time of mounting flagrant attempts to transform its present moment of crisis into lasting defeat, in the destruction of the SFRY. We are living at a time when instead of the AVNOJ Yugoslavia is being offered a kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Some go as far as to claim that the AVNOJ had an adverse effect on the lasting national interests of some of our nations and nationalities. We are living in a climate of mistrust, suspicions, separations, the domination of local interests and the omnipotence of local bureaucrats, etatistic terror and blindness and also in a climate of our own passivity in which we seem to have reconciled ourselves with the degeneration of the revolution.

Revolution's suicide starts off by the destruction of its own critical principles, by the persecution of its own critical conscience. Dialogue between a revolutionary and his revolution calls for sacrifices even more so if he is a writer. It also calls for courage since the paths of truth are strewn with pitfalls of misunderstandings, suspicions, deliberate distortions of his words and intentions, where sinister goals are being attributed to him.

We will not allow, the president of the Yugoslav Writers' Federation remarked, etatism and bureaucracy to indefinitely continue their monopoly over our revolution. We are not trying to capitalize on the fact that we, ourselves, are not responsible for the present crisis since we have not been asked and have been kept on the sidelines of events and decisionmaking. Nor do we want to minimize our share of responsibility for not having voiced our protest earlier against the disunity at the top, in the country and party, against the omnipotence and dictatorship of etatistic and technobureaucratic centers of political and economic power, against the flagrant and unscrupulous abuse of self-management, against demagoguery which constantly repeats that power should be in the hands of the working class and working people, whereas in everyday practice this power is being usurped, reducing the working class influence merely to marginal reflexes only.

Nor can we accept the widely suggested idea of the omnipotence of our revolution. The question, however, is whether we should and for how long tolerate this impotence since it gives rise to disorientation and lack of confidence in the revolution's forces. Our revolution, which was the first to make the way for self-management, cannot when in panic, use repression as the only possible way out. In the times of crisis it has to proceed from its own creative forces.

We are creating literature and are therefore asking nothing more but to share the same destiny as the rest of associated labor. We are not asking nor fighting for privileges, but we cannot accept harassment when a book's fate is discussed or other issues such as copyrights, social care, the status of freelance authors, the problems of young writers and their first books, journals, magazines, radio and TV, theatrical rights and international cooperation of the writers' federation and other associations.

We refuse to be put out for auction at the fairs of nationalism, partiality and vanity because we think that it is pointless to discuss any of the aspects of the way in which language, literature and national history are being taught as long as the number of hours a week that a national language is taught in schools is only 2 and that of national history 1 or none.

Practice has shown that nobody can damage the reputation of writers and literature but writers themselves. In the same way nobody but themselves can elevate them to the heights to which they, by adhering to lasting values, strive. This time again, it all depends on us alone, Kole Casule concluded.

YUGOSLAVIA

SUNDIC SAYS USSR DISTORTS YUGOSLAVIA'S ROLE IN WWII

LD201619 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Following the newscast, which you have just heard, there follows our topical foreign political commentary. Why are Soviet historians bothered by the truth about Yugoslavia's contribution to the victory over fascism and who are they hiding it from? A commentary by Milika Sundic:

Almost every day in the Soviet Union articles and books are being published about World War II which mostly deal, quite understandably, with the crucial contribution made by the Red Army to victory over fascism. With the approach of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, there are more and more of these articles and books. The authors are diverse: scholars, war veterans and prominent generals and marshals. In all these articles and books there is also mention of Yugoslavia and the part played by the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia in the common struggle against fascism. As though according to some unwritten rule, every mention of Yugoslavia is accompanied by mention of other countries, including those which were, almost right up to the very end of the war, on the side of the Third Reich, such as Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary. Few of the authors can get round the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia called on all the peoples of the occupied countries to rise up in arms on the same day that Hitler's Germany attacked the Soviet Union, but there are few who present this fact in the right light. In fact, not only do they most often not explain it but usually distort and falsify it. More precisely, hardly have they mentioned 1941, when armed uprising broke out in Yugoslavia, than they pass on immediately to 1943 or 1944 when Hitler's troops suffered defeat at Stalingrad or when the Red Army liberated Romania and Bulgaria. This is an attempt to create the impression among the uninitiated that in the whole of enslaved Europe the expectation was prevalent that the Red Army would liberate them, and all kinds of uprisings in various countries are being dreamed up which never took place or only occurred after the entry of the Red Army into their territory.

Soviet historians, war veterans and others are obviously being careful not to offend their current allies in the Warsaw Pact but they are forgetting that by doing this they are doing a great injustice to the peoples of Yugoslavia, which from the very beginning fought for and won their liberation. This

distortion of historical facts is all the more serious as it is being done with premeditation in order to diminish Yugoslavia's contribution to the victory over fascism and above all to avoid the truth that no one brought or presented Yugoslavia with freedom but rather its nations and nationalities themselves won it, with huge sacrifices.

No one, of course, is underestimating the contribution made by the Red Army to the liberation of the whole of our country, but this certainly does not give Soviet historians the right to identify Yugoslavia's contribution to the victory over fascism with those countries which were in the opponent's camp. The Red Army struggle against Hitler's Germany was undoubtedly an important support for all those who were fighting against fascism in their own countries. But in Yugoslavia alone, leaving aside the allies, was there an independent front which tied down a large number of enemy divisions, and this was not the case in any other European country. Those are facts which cannot be wiped out by time, nor the falsifications we are talking about here. After all, everyone, and particularly those who care about the truth and for whom it means something, realizes that in the Yugoslav theater of war the fiercest battles were being fought at a time when one could not even think about any help coming from the Soviet Union. Indeed, the very fact that in Yugoslavia battles were still being fought a week after the capitulation of the Third Reich clearly attests to the degree to which the Yugoslav theater of war was important to fascist Germany. Soviet historians and, above all, soldiers should take this into account, not merely for the sake of Yugoslavia but also their own sake and, primarily, the sake of those who do not yet have access to the full truth about World War II. Untruths and falsifications will be revealed one day and this will do nothing to enhance respect for those who conceal from their public the truth about the struggle by a nation, of which Soviet Marshal Malinovskiy, then Soviet defense minister, said 20 years ago that it would remain written down in gold letters in the history of liberation wars for all time. Soviet historians do not have the right to distort what Marshal Rodion Malinovskiy said 20 years ago.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

VATICAN RADIO NOTES SFRY ARTICLE ON STEPINAC

LD200533 Vatican City International Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Text] Here is another contribution and a demand to throw light on the truth of Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac, Zagreb Archbishop of blessed memory, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death. This time it comes from Belgrade. KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, the paper of the Serbian Writers' Association, which is published twice a month in Belgrade, carried an article on 1 April on page 3 by Branislav Petrovic, entitled "A Criminal or a Saint," in which the author tries to approach the problems of the sentence pronounced on Alojzije Stepinac without prejudice, offering concrete suggestions on what should be done to bring the truth to light and satisfy justice. The fact that only 2 days later, on 3 April, the journalist Inoslav Besker attacked his article and claims in Zagreb's VJESNIK, the paper of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People proves that Branislav Petrovic had serious intentions in his wish for truth and justice in the case of Alojzije Stepinac. But what did Branislav Petrovic say? We will now transmit the whole of his article entitled "A Criminal or a Saint," starting from the very introduction in the Serbian language, as it was published in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, the paper of the Serbian Writers' Association printed in Belgrade. Branislav Petrovic starts his article with these words:

If someone had uttered kind words for Alojzije Stepinac, late Roman Catholic cardinal, in the distant 1947, as did Cardinal Mr Franjo Kuharic in 1984 and 1985--and he was not the only one--that person would have hardly fared well in 1947 and in the existential sense simply accepted, Branislav Petrovic says. He continues:

Because that year, while there was still thunder and lightning, and people's court of new Yugoslavia tried Alojzije Stepinac and sentenced him to 16 years' imprisonment for war crimes. The explanation of the sentence has made a horrifying impression to this very day. One says, inter alia, that Cardinal Stepinac approved of Ustasha crimes and so forth. [Word indistinct] of the generation, who were acquiring their first knowledge about the world and life during difficult post-war years, even the very name of Alojzije Stepinac provoked horror. The sentence alone of Alojzije Stepinac received great publicity at the time, while the pardon, which followed 2 years later, went almost unnoticed. There was neither time nor wisdom for the essential analyses of what had been happening at that time. There were also more pressing matters.

Now, several decades later, one can return to the case of Alojzije Stepinac in a calmer, more composed, and intelligent manner, Branislav Petrovic says:

Instead of the yes-no and saint-criminal dichotomy, which could have serious consequences for the young who are now on the scene, it would be more advisable, with the help of the science of law, facts, and documents--and at this distance in time this is absolutely possible--to try and find a human truth if God's one is inaccessible to us. Can one attempt, in a climate of democratic spirit and tolerance, to resolve this case more calmly and rationally, a case which brings forth so many confusions and which creates serious problems to society as a whole. It is worth admitting that the first years after the war, when one could still smell the gunpowder and see the smoke from the fire, were not the best years for justice. Trials have to take place but judges do not have an easy job. Documents whose ink has not yet dried are not the most reliable ones. If a judge pronounces a sentence taking away from someone 16 years of free human life, he must have major reasons, while a barrister has to wait for a better opportunity to excel himself, Branislav Petrovic says, adding:

The very fact that Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac was granted pardon only 2 years after he had been sentenced gives rise not only for confusion but for a more rational and collective analysis of the entire case. If by the letter of the law someone is guilty for 16 years and by the spirit of grace 8 times less, then in this blessed atmosphere when one dares to ask such a question, a question does arise: was the sentence too severe or was the hand of grace too gentle? In 1985, as of this writing and even later, the state, in all the complexity of this orientation, does not step back from its decision that Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac is a war criminal. To a differing and public announcement by Mr Franjo Kuharic--and not only to his statement--the state fails to react or else it reacts with verbal remarks that basically or legally mean very little or even nothing at all, Branislav Petrovic says.

Branislav Petrovic continues: Cardinal Mr Franjo Kuharic is a serious man whom the author of this article accords the high respect of a religious dignitary. If Cardinal Mr Franjo Kuharic publicly praises the personality and work of the late Alojzije Stepinac, he probably has grounds for it backed up by facts that he feels he can raise before justice with clear conscience and honesty. It is not possible to believe that a man of such dignity in the church hierarchy would glorify and raise to sainthood a war criminal unless he has at his disposal legal and scientific facts that irrefutably and irrevocably prove that Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac was not a war criminal. As for Cardinal Mr Franjo Kuharic, for the author of this article the state, as a necessary uniting factor of society as a whole, is also a serious institution, despite all the daydreaming about its withering away. The state possesses instruments that would ensure justice and equal treatment for every man, as well as a clearly defined power that justice and equal treatment are [word indistinct] and respected. Cooperation between the church and state bears good fruit. From [word indistinct] disagreements bad seeds are sprouting. It is difficult to accept the climate of these horrible disagreements that for my state someone is a war criminal and for my/our church a saint. Either he is a saint or a criminal, Branislav Petrovic says.

He adds: Brave contemporaries, pause awhile before this question! [Word indistinct] question for our conscience, for our understanding of history, for our feeling of justice, for our human life. There can hardly be a more dangerous discord and a more monstrous ping-pong game. This discord must be overcome. This is a destructive sickness which has already spread widely. It does not leave any room for indifference. It is the discord that destroys the essence of the earthly and heavenly system. I am completely convinced that Cardinal Mr Franjo Kuharic, as the servant of the church and the son of this society, cannot praise a criminal. I am also convinced that society as a whole does not benefit at all if in its chronicles one saint is [word indistinct] like a criminal. One should try the late Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac again. This is the only possible thing. A new trial presupposes a scientific debate, a symposium at which lawyers, scientists, and philosophers, ethnicists and historians, poets and politicians will come face to face with documents, proofs, facts, and clear arguments at the disposal of the church and state, and that in the atmosphere of true toleration truth could be reached, the truth which reason will comprehend, the real human truth about Alojzije Stepinac, who, even from his grave, always decorated with flowers, dangerously divides us on the threshold of the 21st Century.

CSO: 2800/301



YUGOSLAVIA

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON GUYANESE PRESIDENT'S VISIT

LD202218 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1959 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)--On the occasion of the official visit of Forbes Burnham, president of Guyana, to Yugoslavia a joint communique has been published in Belgrade in which this visit was assessed as an important contribution to the further development of friendly cooperation between the two countries.

The communique says that Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Linden Forbes Burnham, president of Guyana, have carried out a broad exchange of views on the current international situation. They have devoted special attention to the Nonaligned Movement and its continuous efforts for the promotion of peace and progress and the democratization of international relations.

The talks took place in a very open cordial and friendly atmosphere and in the spirit of a complete mutual understanding and respect.

The two sides stated the identity of views on the issues discussed during their analysis of the situation in the international relations. They pointed at the importance of mutual successful cooperation and the exchange of views and attitudes in various international bodies, particularly the UN, on the most topical international questions and problems.

The two sides expressed concern about the exacerbation of the international situation, caused by the constant rivalry of the superpowers, the intensification of the arms race, the lack of solution for the existing and the appearance of new hotbeds of crises and the deepening of a gap between rich and developing countries.

Both sides stressed that international relations must be based on the basic principles of the UN Charter and in particular on the principles of sovereign equality of states, self-determination, nonintervention, noninterference, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and ban on threat and use of force.

The two sides stressed that the arms race represents a growing threat for international peace and security and they pointed out that it is necessary to reach as soon as possible an international agreement which would lead to general and complete disarmament.

The need was stressed to take relevant actions aimed at reviving detente and preventing further worsening of international political and economic relations. In this connection, the two sides expressed the hope that the resumption of negotiations between the United States and USSR would unfold prospects of relaxation, understanding and peace in the world.

In stressing the responsibility which great powers have in this respect, Djuranovic and Burnham emphasized that all countries should, in the interest of their peoples and of mankind as a whole, contribute to and actively participate in achieving this aim. They reiterated their full adherence to the goals of general and complete disarmament and to the initiatives launched in this respect within the framework of the UN and the Nonaligned Movement as well as to all other constructive proposals.

Both sides stressed their constant support for the UN Organization as an efficient instrument to preserve international peace, promote mutual cooperation and development and create a climate of agreement-reaching and of harmony among peoples, in line with the principles of the international law.

In connection with the forthcoming celebration of the 40th anniversary of the UN, the two sides expressed their conviction that that event would represent an opportunity to confirm anew the principles of the UN Charter and to strengthen further the role of this world organization.

The two sides repeated their concern about the present state of the international economy and finances. They stressed that to improve the international economic situation demands that global cooperation be consolidated. In this context they again stressed the need to create a new, equitable international order which would make it possible to narrow the gap between rich and poor countries. They again called on developed countries to resume without delay the North-South dialogue and take actions aimed at looking for solutions for existing problems. In the talks the significance was stressed of continuing and intensifying the actions by nonaligned and developing countries in the direction of establishing a new international economic order as their long-term goal. In this context, global negotiations remain as their significant orientation.

In this connection, the two sides endorsed the initiative of the 7th nonaligned summit to convene a conference on money and on the financing of development.

Both sides stressed that the situation which has arisen on account of debts of the developing countries was becoming a serious political issue and was presenting a serious danger for their further socioeconomic development. The need was stressed to establish as soon as possible a global political dialogue between debtor and creditor countries in order to overcome the present situation.

Yugoslavia and Guyana have confirmed their adherence to the nonaligned policy and stressed that full respect for the original principles of the nonalignment represented an irreplaceable and lasting basis for the development of peace and security in the world, for the democratization of the international relations, the overcoming of international problems and the promotion of constructive cooperation between states. The two sides pointed out the basic value of the nonalignment in the present world conditions and its role as the only alternative to the bloc policy. They also pointed out the contribution of the nonalignment in the struggle against all forms of domination, hegemony, racism, apartheid, colonialism, and various pressures on countries and peoples, as well as against the division of the world into interest spheres. In this connection both sides have expressed their readiness to actively contribute to the efforts of the nonaligned countries, particularly at the forthcoming emergency ministerial session of the Coordination Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement in New Delhi and the conference of the foreign ministers of the Nonaligned Movement in Luanda.

A deep concern was expressed about the development of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean. Both sides confirmed their support for a political solution of the crisis in Central America, advocating full respect for the rights of the peoples of Nicaragua and other countries of the region to self-determination and the independent choice of a social, economic and political system, without foreign interference, on the basis of the UN Charter and the principles of the nonaligned policy. Yugoslavia and Guyana reiterated their resolute support for the Contradora Group and its efforts in searching for a peaceful political solution. Both countries pointed out the necessity of the entire international community to give its support to the initiatives of the Contradora Group, because it represented the only real alternative to the establishing of peace, cooperation and mutual trust in Central America.

During the talks the two sides examined bilateral cooperation and pointed out that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation had been favorably developing in all the fields.

It was agreed that cooperation between socio-political organizations, and in particular between the LCY and the People's National Congress of Guyana, was also developing successfully and the two sides expressed the conviction that it would intensify even more.

It was noted in particular that favorable conditions existed to the economic and trade relations. Particular attention was paid to economic projects on which Yugoslav work organizations are working and the possibilities of involving Yugoslav firms in hydropower projects in Guyana.

The conviction was expressed that the agreement on trade and economic cooperation between the SFRY and the cooperative republic and Guyana as well as the credit agreement signed between the Belgrade Associated Bank and the Guyana National Bank, would represent a valuable contribution to the development of relations as a whole.

Both sides expressed satisfaction about the results of the visit by President Burnham to Yugoslavia and they assessed it as a significant contribution to the consolidation of bilateral relations between the peoples and governments of the SFRY and the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

Forbes Sampson Burnham, president of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to pay a visit to the Cooperative Republic of Guyana.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

'OBSERVER' ATTENDS JAKARTA BANDUNG CONFERENCE

LD231745 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0904 GMT 23 Apr 85

[Text] Jakarta, 23 Apr (TANJUG)--The ideas from the Bandung Conference later developed through the Movement of Nonalignment. That is why with the marking of the 30th anniversary of the conference, great ideas of freedom, independence and noninterference in internal affairs of other countries are also being celebrated.

This was stated on the eve of two-day ceremonies marking the 30th anniversary of the Bandung Conference by the head of the Yugoslav delegation and president of the Social Federal Council for Foreign Policy Mirko Ostojic. Yugoslavia has the status of observer at the ceremonies, and is the only non-Asian and non-African country invited to attend.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar's special envoy Virendra Dayal, who will convey Perez de Cuellar's message, stated, like the heads of a number of delegations, that the Bandung Principles are also important in the current world situation and in the development of relations between states and peoples.

The head of the Egyptian delegation Assistant Foreign Minister Umran el-Shafi [TANJUG spelling] sees the importance of marking the anniversary also in the fact that it will encourage the Nonaligned Movement to focus even more on the promotion of economic cooperation between the movement's members. The role of the movement has not diminished since the time when it was founded, especially when the struggle for lessening international tensions and facing the problems of armament are involved, he said.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Ibrahim Gambari and head of the United Arab Emirates delegation 'Ali Hamdani called for greater economic cooperation between Asian, African and Latin American countries in order to free themselves from dependence on large countries.

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YUGOSLAVIA

# ACTIVITIES OF SPD'S WISCHNEWSKI REPORTED

Received by Sukrija

LD192236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)--Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Hans-Juergen Wischnewski, SPD Presidium member, who is visiting our country at the invitation of the LDY Central Committee Presidium.

Views were exchanged on international events with special reference to the activity and role of progressive parties and movements at this point in time. Both sides expressed conviction that the exacerbated international situation, the arms race, crisis hotbeds, and acute problems in relations between developed and underdeveloped countries demand from all progressive and democratic forces that they commit themselves resolutely to peace and security and that they continue to make efforts in building democratic international economic and political relations.

In this connection the need was stressed to strengthen efforts to resolve problems of international economic relations, particularly those of developing countries, as well as the need for as many programs as possible of scientific research for peaceful purposes as an alternative to attempts which objectively lead to speeding up the arms race.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the traditional good cooperation between the LCY and the SPD and the resolve that it should be promoted, as this contributes to the successful development of relations between the SFRY and the FRG.

Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, also spoke about topical issues of the development of our socialist self-managing society, about the implementation of the long-term economic stabilization program, about the leading role of the LCY in society, and about preparations for the 13th congress.

The talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, were attended by Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Borislav

Milosevic, head of the section for international cooperation of the LCY Central Committee of the special service of the LCY Central Committee [as received]; and on the SPD side, by Hans Eberhard Dingels, head of the SPD international department

#### Discusses Cooperation With Grlickov

LD201832 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 20 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG)--Member of the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) Aleksandar Grlickov today conferred with member of the Presidency of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) Hans Juergen Wischnewski, who is on a visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). They exchanged views on current developments on the international stage, particularly in the international workers' movement and the activities of the SAWPY and the SPD on the internal and international levels.

In an open and friendly discussion, both sides stressed the need of the further promotion of cooperation among all progressive political parties and movements in the world with the object of surmounting confrontations and hotbeds of crisis, particularly the arms race as a permanent threat to world peace.

International security and cooperation and the tasks of workers and other progressive parties and movements were also discussed during today's meeting between Wischnewski and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Dobrivoje Vidic. Informing the guests about the preparations for the 13th Congress of the LCY, Vidic also spoke about the League of Communists' views on current questions of the development of socialism as a world process.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

MARKOVIC ADDRESSES POWER WORKERS

LD111427 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0050 GMT 11 Apr 85

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Apr (TANJUG)--It is obvious that despite all the very considerable results achieved in building power capacities and increasing our power resources, we continue to be exposed in this field to serious dangers which could severely disrupt the country's economic development in the next period unless necessary measures are adopted to increase power resources in keeping with the needs of the power industry and society, Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stated in his introductory report at today's action conference of communists employed in the field of power.

The successful attainment of the goals of our social development in the next period is directly linked with the development of the power industry. I would say, Markovic emphasized, that this is one of the fundamental conditions for the development of the whole of our economy and society. Consequently, we as a society must, regardless of our not inconsiderable difficulties and restrictions, pursue a more consistent and more energetic power development policy within the limits imposed by our real material possibilities.

Naturally, Markovic noted, this poses the question of the means by which we shall ensure optimum results in achieving this in our circumstances. The power industry possesses very limited accumulation possibilities and our power resources and capacities are unevenly distributed territorially, which is quite a normal situation. Though we have gained very positive experience in the self-managing pooling of labor and resources and in the joint framework of every branch between the organizations concerned with the production, processing, transportation and distribution of various forms of power and the power industry's products.

There has recently been much talk in our country about the unity of major technological and economic systems. In this respect the long-term program of economic stabilization clearly expresses the unanimously adopted attitudes. This particularly applies to the part dealing with the long-term development of the power industry in Yugoslavia and the foundations of the country's technological development.



It goes without saying that a formal integration of associated labor within the framework of major system and application of modern technical and technological processes and management techniques would create important but not all prerequisites for the attainment of optimum total results by major technological systems. If these systems are to achieve what can be described as optimum results from a broader social point of view it is also necessary to ensure a series of other conditions, ranging from joint investment and the resulting jointly acquired income to the realization of the appropriate selfmanaging socio-economic relations inside and between organizations of associated labor and socio-political communities.

I think, Dragoslav Markovic stressed, that for our community it is of exceptional importance that we should build a powerful and effective self-managing mechanism into the entire base of our major systems, a mechanism which will ensure pooling and prevent breaking up of the unified Yugoslav market. It is only by means of this kind of approach to work and relations that one can successfully overcome the phenomena of inefficiency, irrationality and fragmentation in the work of these important systems.

Pointing out the numerous still unanswered questions in the field of the power industry, Markovic said that much was expected in this respect from the action conference of communists employed in the power industry. The conference must help clarify unresolved questions and adopt clear ideological orientations. This will help overcome the phenomena of autarkic development and irrational behavior of the kind which we have experienced (duplicating capacities, building capacities on the basis of one's "own" but irrational sources of energy, creation of excessively large capacities, especially for the refining of oil, and so forth). [TANJUG parentheses as received]

Markovic considers that the question of solving the foreign exchange aspect ranks among the particularly important questions. Its settling should ensure the conditions needed for the normal work and the development of this sector of special social importance. For perfectly clear reasons our power industry should not export its products, despite the fact that they can be profitably marketed on the world market.

The especially important and the joint and general interests--especially so when they are long-term interests--are not always clear to see and easy to perceive, Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at the end of his introductory speech at the action conference of communists employed in the field of power. This is why communists bear particular responsibility. They should be able to see and know more and, backed by the force of arguments and a clear view of the future, should stand at the head of the struggle for the consolidation of socio-economic relations, socialist selfmanagement and for the speedier and more efficient self-managing pooling of labor and resources, better agreement-seeking and realization of the country's agreed development.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

DEFENSE MINISTER VISITS BELGRADE CITY AUTHORITIES

LD192056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serb-Croatian 1653 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG)--Within the framework of his working visit to the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, with his associates, had talks today with representatives of republican organs and organizations and of the city of Belgrade. Slobodan Milosevic, president of the city committee of the Belgrade LC Organization, Bogdan Bogdanovic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly, and representatives of the city's sociopolitical organizations informed Adm Mamula about topical issues of the city's economic and sociopolitical life as well as of measures and actions taken in the sphere of defense preparations and social self-protection.

Reference was made in the talks to the possibilities of expanding and enriching cooperation between the city economy and the military-economic sector in view of Belgrade's large economic potentials.

In the afternoon Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Vian Stambolic, president of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC; Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the Serbian Assembly and other republican officials briefed the federal secretary for a national defense on the situation and the degree of readiness of Serbia for all-people's defense and activities taken in this direction by organs, organizations and all structures in the republic as well as on the efforts made by the Serbian economy to implement the program of economic stabilization.

It was stressed in the talks that the Serbian economy participated actively in development programs of the Yugoslav People's Army and the armed forces as a whole, but it was stressed that even closer and more fruitful cooperation was needed in particular in the sphere of scientific research work and the development of new technology.

At the meeting with the sociopolitical leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, views were also exchanged on other issues in the sphere of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

During the day Adm Mamula visited the Ivo Lola Ribar machine industry in Zeleznik, the Mihajlo Pupin Institute and the railway junction in Belgrade where the hosts informed him of the economic results, plans of further development, and of the defense preparations by these work collectives.

Bogdan Bogdanovic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly, held a ceremony at the city assembly, handed Adm of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, the golden plaque of the city of Belgrade as the city's highest recognition of his contribution to the development and strengthening of defense capabilities and socialist development of Belgrade.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

CULAFIC SPEAKS AT TRADE UNION MEETING

LD091659 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 9 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Apr (TANJUG)--Forces in the country and abroad which have nothing in common with our orientation are becoming increasingly vociferous. However, the presence of these forces and their aggressiveness are not the result of their objective strength but a consequence of our serious difficulties and inconsistency in implementing the established policy, Dobroslav Culafic, member of the LCY Central Committee and federal secretary for internal affairs, said today at the session of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council. The agenda included topical issues of the political security situation. At the beginning of the session, homage was paid with a minute of silence to the workers killed in the grave traffic disaster on the Sarajevo-Mostar road. The decision was adopted to send financial assistance amounting to 2.1 million dinars to the families of those killed and injured in the accident.

Speaking about the enemy activity in the country, Culafic stressed in particular the threat from various forms of nationalistic onslaught on the achievements of our revolution. He expressed concern that the number of public nationalistic acts and crude excesses in which chiefly young people were taking part was on the increase. Culafic also spoke about various forms of the activity of clericonationalists, bourgeois right-wing forces as well as advocates of the bureaucratic-dogmatic concept of our development who, in his words, are trying to use the present socioeconomic situation in the country to gain positions for themselves, by plugging the slogan about "more work and more order." This slogan, he added, perfidiously attacks self-management as a production and social relation and appeals for the well-known "strong arm" system.

Just as they are manifesting a high degree of consciousness and making great efforts to implement the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, the working people, in particular those in material production, have also remained most resistant to the onslaughts and provocations by enemy forces, Culafic said.

Workers are demonstrating their dissatisfaction through work stoppages and in other ways but this dissatisfaction manifests itself as a consequence of the underdeveloped self-managing relations in certain environments, of

stagnation of self-management or usurpation of self-managing rights by technobureaucratic structure. In Culafic's words, there has been no violation of public order and peace or damage to social property of all social subjects in eliminating the causes of these phenomena.

The federal secretary for internal affairs also spoke about the diversionist-terrorist and propaganda activity of our enemy emigres, illustrated also by the latest trial of such a group, and by their constant efforts to inflict harm, even through the most brutal actions, to the economy and prestige of our country in the world. He dealt in particular with emigres' attacks on our tourist trade as well as with onslaughts on our citizens working temporarily abroad.

The foreign factor too operates constantly against our integrity and the country's stability, Culafic said. We encounter a great variety of illegal work, along with the persistent attempt by intelligence services to create their strongholds also in the most vital sections of society, but primarily, to create collusion with enemy forces in the country. Culafic added that so-called economic espionage and attempts to cause disloyal competition among our work organizations which either export or which carry out work abroad has been increasingly in evidence recently.

Dobroslav Culafic particularly drew attention to the high degree of threat to social property, to the sphere of economic crimes as a whole, and to fire damage to people and property. In his words, last year, through criminal acts of economic crimes, the social community suffered material damage of over 16 billion dinars. This too exerts an influence on the political climate in society. He also reported that internal affairs organs were detecting over 72 percent of the total number of criminal acts of economic crime, and in all other subjects of social self-protection 28 percent. There are also such environments where all criminal acts in this sphere have been detected by organs of internal affairs alone, though many of them had taken place "before the very eyes" of self-managing workers' control services, inspection services, and other subjects of the system. The information that 10 to 13,000 fires break out every year with several dozen victims and enormous material damage, as well as the fact that 75 percent of fires are the result exclusively of the human factor, points to the entire seriousness of this problem and to the need for a far more organized and more comprehensive approach to this sphere, Culafic said.

In Culafic's assessment awareness of the fact that the protection of the basic values of our society is everyone's task and concern and not merely of sections of society, specialized services, and individuals concerned with this, is not yet sufficiently developed. Internal affairs organs will in the future, as up to now, Culafic said, realize full cooperation with all other subjects of the system of social self-protection and extend necessary specialized assistance within the limits of their powers and possibilities.

Today's debate too confirmed that these issues permeate nearly all moments of life. One thing is certain and that is that all the present difficulties

and weaknesses have both their objective and subjective aspect, but it is a fact, Bogoljub Nedeljkovic stressed, that they encourage enemy forces, both internal and external ones. These forces are trying to find props among workers. Such a state and activity by enemy forces increases the concern among workers for the country's fate, for its freedom and independence. Working people, in Nedeljkovic's words, object to the trade union not committing themselves more resolutely, that they do not call upon basic organizations to organize workers in the struggle against these forces. If we do not mobilized all the workers in the struggle against enemy activity, Nedeljkovic stressed, no organs of any kind will be able to wage successfully this struggle.

Pointing to the problem of social stratification as the fundamental factor of the political security situation, Radenko Puzovic stressed that it was impermissible to repeat constantly that social differences had never been greater since the liberation and that nothing was being done about it. I agree that we should go among the people, among the workers but we must go always with right answers and see to it that what we say is also followed through.

For today's debate it is very important to say why work stoppages take place, Stojan Stojcevski said. He noted that apart from irregularities in the distribution of personal incomes, the defense of work and self-managing positions, and the inability to fulfill one's obligations, such as for instance, paying for communal services, were increasingly emerging as their causes.

Taking part in the debate, Major General Simeon Buncic, secretary of the Presidium of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army noted that the role of the army was, above all, to defend the country from the external enemy, but that it would not allow anybody threatening it from within. Enemies of all colors, Buncic said, are also trying to intensify their activity toward the army. Its members, however, are vigilant and do not allow themselves to be surprised.

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YUGOSLAVIA

# SERBIAN SAWP DISCUSSES SELF-PROTECTION, NATIONALISM

LD241451 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Summary] Belgrade, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--The republic conference of the Serbian SAWP met today to discuss self-protection. In his introduction report Veroljub Brankovic, a member of the Presidium of the republic conference, said that last year alone a loss of about 900 million dinars had been suffered through actions against social property. A loss of over 400 million dinars was caused by the fact that harmful contracts had been signed. Two percent of national income is lost annually through fires.

"Recently activity of internal enemy and opposition forces was stepped up, stressed Brankovic, the conditions taking our society into instability suit them, regardless of their ideological complexion. Pressure has been intensified to gain positions in social institutions, especially in culture and public information services. Some manifestations in publishing, public platforms and magazines show that organized opposition and actions by socialist forces are lacking. Nationalism, which objectively speaking is the most dangerous form of enemy activity, has been on the increase recently. Serb nationalism is being manifested more and more openly, and forms of its expression are increasingly visible. Attention will have to focus on the struggle against Albanian nationalism for a long time to come. Muslim nationalism is felt in the environments with predominantly Muslim population. Hungarian nationalism is making itself heard too. Brankovic referred also to manifestations of the church being misused for political ends, and pointed out that this was happening despite the fact that for a number of years now the relations with religious communities have been sorted out and there are virtually no controversial questions."

Winding up the discussion, Dr Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the republic conference of the Serbian SAWP, said that the democratic public nature of work of all state, self-management and other bodies is the condition for the struggle against unsocialist manifestations, irresponsibility and manipulations being more successful.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SAWPY PRESIDENT ON LIBERATION DAY PREPARATIONS

LD181016 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 17 Apr 85

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)--When marking the 40th anniversary of their liberation and victory day, Yugoslavs will not only evoke memories of the past since the event is linked with the present and with the future, said president of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Marjan Rozic today.

Speaking at the International Press Center in Belgrade today, Rozic, who heads the Federal Committee for marking the anniversaries, said that Yugoslavia does not wish to overestimate its contribution to the allied victory, but that it will not allow this contribution to be underestimated either.

In regard to certain attempts to depreciate Yugoslavia's contribution, Yugoslavia responds with facts. And it is a fact that between 600,000 to 800,000 Axis troops were engaged in the Yugoslav theater of operations. This means that the Yugoslav people's liberation movement was effectively tying down 185 divisions, 74 brigades and 447 regiments of the German, Italian, Bulgarian and Hungarian occupation armies and quislings forces. It is also a fact that the Yugoslav Army numbered 800,000 fighters in the last stage of the war.

The armed struggle was led by the Communist Party with Tito at its head, but such an important contribution to the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition would have been impossible without the support of the broadest masses of the people, Rozic said, adding that both communists and believers stormed enemy bunkers. It is therefore natural that celebrations will be sponsored by the Socialist Alliance, Yugoslavia's largest socio-political organization, Rozic emphasized and pointed out the peace-loving character of the celebrations in Yugoslavia.

The correspondent of the Soviet NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY wanted to know what significance the successes of the Red Army and its role in the final stage of the war in Yugoslav territory had. These successes and that role, he was told, were and still are assessed as very positive. Objectively, they represented assistance to the Yugoslav People's Liberation Army, in its fight against the Nazi-fascist forces. By opening up a front on Yugoslav territory, the Yugoslav nations and nationalities directly helped the fight of the allies both in the East and in the West.



In what way will veterans from other countries participate in the Yugoslav celebrations, asked PRENSA LATINA's Belgrade correspondent. He was told that the Yugoslav liberation war veterans' organization has sent invitations for delegations of countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition--the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France--to attend. It has also invited delegations from countries whose nationals took part in the people's liberation struggle in Yugoslavia--Italy, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, Austria and Romania--and from countries which had organized resistance movements--Greece, the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Luxembourg and Norway. An invitation has also been sent to the Canadian veterans' organizations.

The KUWAITI NEWS AGENCY correspondent asked how much the celebrations would cost. The answer was that no special funds have been envisaged for the purpose. Even the May 9 military parade in Belgrade will not be financed from funds other than the regular budget.

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YUGOSLAVIA

STRUGA MUNICIPALITY LC EXPELLS 7, WARNS OTHERS

LD191824 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1421 GMT 19 Apr 85

[Text] Struga, 19 Apr (TANJUG)--The municipal committee of the Struga LC at today's session discussed decisions passed by the basic LC organizations of this commune which are related to the deviationist phenomena and their exponents in cadre policy, the use of credit from a green plan for housing construction, and a communal housing policy in this municipality for 1974-1984. It was stated that for 11 LC member of the LC basic organizations among whose members there are exponents of deviating phenomena, appropriate measures were applied. For 12 LC members, however, the basic LC organizations passed decisions which were untenable.

Because the municipal committee has, in keeping with the LC statute, pointed out the necessity to reexamine the decisions on pronouncing measures on the exponents of deviationist phenomena, the members of the committee decided at today's session to expel from the LC membership seven former officials, now leaders in the organizations of associated labor of the Struga Municipality. Their names are: Jovica Popovski, hitherto president of the Executive Council; Nikolay Kuvendzieski, director of Elektro-Struga; Gligor Kolesoski, director of Stopanska Banka in Struga; Trajan Hiohi, director of the Struska Trgovija trade work organizations; Risto Milevski, director of the Struga branch of the Makedonija property and personal insurance community; Kire Srbinovski, head of the Social Accountancy Service; and Mihajlo Sulevski, director of the department for the promotion of individual production in Struga.

The committee recommended to the LC basic organization in the Macedonian Assembly the expulsion from the LC membership of Inaet Dauti, who presently carries out the duty of the chairman of the Commission for Petitions and complaints of the Macedonian assembly, as one of the exponents of deviationist phenomena in the Struge Municipality.

A final warning prior to expulsion was pronounced on Vlada Djordjonovski, director of Struska Trgovija. Final warnings were also given to managers in this work organization: Faud Cazimovski, Pero Baljkovski, Estatija Djordjonski, director of the health center, and Sotir Opetcevski, leader in the municipal assembly.

The municipal committee of the Struga LC confirmed the decisions of the LC basic organization to give a final warning to members Masar Demir, Kenan Bajrami, Risto Basurovski, and Musa Muca.

Also confirmed were the decisions of the LC basic organizations and a warning was pronounced on members Spiro Simakovski, Tanco Milosevski, Kristafil Stolevski, Velija Sapi, Antonije Joklevski, Mustafa Abedinievski, and Belkija Dervisi.

The municipal committee of the Struga LC passed the decision that all the sociopolitical structures, the organizations of associated labor and the basic LC organizations in this commune where the deviationist phenomena have emerged, should set in motion an initiative to dismiss from leading duties all those who have been the exponents of deviationist phenomena.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS VOJVODINA LC PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD260354 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--The first party of today's Vojvodina LC provincial committee session which was also attended by Ivan Stambolic, Serbian LC Central Committee president, consisted of a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the Yugoslav Communist Party's seventh provincial conference for Vojvodina.

During the working part of the session, which was devoted to the activity of the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance as the political base of the delegate system, Dusan Popovic focused his attention in his introductory report on man not as a separate and isolated entity, but associated with other people on an equal footing through associated labor and self-managing communities for the purpose of administering and controlling the whole of income.

In Popovic's view, all of the critical observations with regard to the Socialist Alliance's work, especially from the point of view of what communists must do to encourage and support its transformation into a front and into the delegate system's political base, must proceed from the principles whose validity Tito and Kardelj had stressed with great emphasis on a number of occasions.

Some of the demands made at the present time, Dusan Popovic added, run counter to the LCY's clearly established policies, have nothing to do with any programs and with the continuity of the revolution, and oppose the constitutional position, role, and nature of the republics and provinces. Any changes to the constitutionally established fundamental relations within the federation and particularly changes in the direction of redefining the constitutionally established relations between the republics and provinces, will undermine the self-managing, political, and economic equality of the provinces' workers, working people, and citizens by placing them in a position of political and economic inequality as compared to all other workers, working people, and citizens. In defense of their elementary revolutionary and constitutional right to socialist self-management and freedom, the self-managing workers, working people, and citizens will oppose all attempts by the nationalist and other reactionary forces to place them in an unequal

economic and political position in our federal community of equal nations and nationalities. In defending the socialist self-managing concept of constitutional relations existing in our country and in struggling for its consistent implementation, the communists of Vojvodina will not be forced to their knees by pressures whose aim is to exclude Vojvodina from participating on an equal footing in Yugoslav self-managing processes and from the struggle for their further revolutionary development in order to alter relations within the Yugoslav community of nations and nationalities Dusan Popovic said.

The province's equality, as defined by the Constitution, is grounded in history and expresses the unity of the revolutionary, class, and national liberation of man, Popovic said and added: None of this means, it goes without saying, that we, too, are not confronted by etatist-bureaucratic phenomena and trends in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina that originate in our own environment, in concrete, historically determined socioeconomic structures and relations and in the vestiges of the old way of thinking. On the contrary, we are deeply cognizant of these pressures exerted by what is left of the past and we are striving to overcome and surmount them within the framework of the Yugoslav communists' struggle. Today's provincial committee meeting is aimed at mobilizing our resources for this struggle, which is the main obligation in our ideopolitical struggle and in practical political action. However, etatism and bureaucratism in Vojvodina cannot be overcome by strengthening the centralist power in the republic or in the federation or at any other level. Etatism and technocratism can only be overcome through consistent and united struggle waged by the whole of the LCY in all the sociopolitical communities and above all by strengthening the constitutional socialist self-managing rights of workers in associated labor, in decisionmaking on expanded reproduction, and in social relations in general, Popovic said.

Popovic then noted that our struggle for self-management is also hindered by the widespread and aggressive activity of anti-self-management forces. This particularly applies to attacks on our self-managing socioeconomic and political system, federalism, and the quality of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities.

Lajos Najd Miklos said in the discussion that the further intensification of etatism cannot be prevented by any forums, but that this has to be accomplished by communists, working people, and citizens through their activities within the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

Bogdan Kavazovic drew attention to the fact that in Sremska Mitrovica Municipality, where 8,000 patriots were executed during the occupation, a part of the clergy is again sowing discord and confusion among citizens and believers and that communists must become directly involved in SAWP against these and similar phenomena.

At today's session, which adopted an orientation program of work for the period up to the 18th Vojvodina LC conference, the provincial committee also elected Djordje Stojisic, presidium member by secret ballot, as the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee's new president for a term of 1 year.

YUGOSLAVIA

# BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA SAWP EXAMINES RELIGION ISSUES

LD251038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 24 Apr 85

[Text Sarajevo, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--The majority of the publications published by the religious communities in the Bosnia-Hercegovina SR deal with the issues relating to religious rites and activity which they carry out in accordance with their constitutional-legal status. This was stated at today's session of the Presidium of the republic conference of the Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP, which discussed some issues relating to the religious press and publications issued by the republic's religious communities.

The credit for this goes to those members of the clergy who are patriotically oriented and who in religious papers advocate a consistent implementation of the constitutional principles concerning religious freedoms, the freedom to perform religious rites and carry out religious activity, and who call for the respect for legal regulations when solving specific issues of relations with religious communities.

However, it was stressed that a section of the religious press and other publications publish material of non-religious character and articles with oblique and open political references and clericalist tendencies. This politicizing character of some articles appearing in the religious press and publications is contrary to our legal regulations and expresses the interest and needs of neither religious citizens nor of the majority of the clergy, but of those groups and individuals who refuse to accept the constitutional-legal status of religious communities in our society.

It was stressed during the discussion that these articles generally represent attempts by individuals and groups within and close to religious communities to influence, through the religious press, religious citizens' political conscience and their political stands. At the same time such articles demonstrate certain religious circles' unacceptable attitude towards Yugoslavia's socialist self-managing society.

The analysis of some of the articles published either in papers, journals or other publications by the religious communities indicates that in most cases politicization amounts to identifying the religious with the national, with the one-sided and over-emphasized insistence on the individual religious community's role in national development, and tendentiously presenting a

religious community as an exclusive guardian of a specific nation's interests. One of the features of politicization is the tendency to misrepresent and unscientifically assess events and personalities in the political and cultural history of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, and place them under the wing of a specific religious community. There are also cases where moral values of our socialist self-managing society are being denigrated, while on the other hand the superiority of religious ethics, as a universal and lasting system of values, is being stressed. Interference in the issues relating to the socialist, self-managing concept of our education system has become apparent. It is being accused of "systematically imposing atheism" and having a dehumanizing character, while at the same time religious instruction on morals is being offered as an alternative, and young people warned of the dangers looming over their future.

The tenor of some of the texts and special publications with religious content is such as to foment religious intolerance. In some articles brotherhood, unity and togetherness are explained in an inadequate manner, urging believers to base their unity and friendship on religion and to achieve togetherness with members of the same religion outside the country.

It was stressed at the session that organs and organizations of the Socialist Alliance should pay appropriate attention to the monitoring and analyzing of the religious press and the entire publishing activity of the religious communities. It is also necessary to react quickly to articles with clericalist and nationalist tone, particularly in those environments from which the authors of such articles come, and to prevent the distribution of such articles. In view of the increasing aspirations by the religious communities to exert stronger influence, through their press and other publications, on citizens' attitudes toward specific issues of relations with the religious communities and to exert pressure on social organs in order to force them to make certain decisions, it is necessary to insist that the constitution and the law are consistently implemented in the publishing-informative activity of the religious communities and that the laws regulating the distribution of religious printed matter are respected.

CSO: 2800/301

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

DIZDAREVIC ARRIVES IN DELHI--New Delhi, 17 Apr (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived in New Delhi today to attend the extraordinary meeting on the problem of Namibia due to be held by the coordination bureau of the nonaligned on Friday, Saturday and Sunday [18-20 April]. The federal secretary was met at the airport by Khurshid Alam Khan, minister of state for foreign affairs, and Danilo Bilanovic, SFRY ambassador to India. In a short statement to All-India Radio, Raif Dizdarevic stressed that he expected the ministerial meeting to have a successful outcome and that the people of South-West Africa would receive fresh and even stronger support at the meeting for their struggle against colonialism. Ignjac Golob, head of the Yugoslav Mission to the United Nations; Zivojin Jazic, assistant federal secretary, and Darko Silovic, director of an administration in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, also arrived in New Delhi with the federal secretary. During his stay in New Delhi, Raif Dizdarevic is expected to be received by Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian prime minister. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0724 GMT 17 Apr 85 LD]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO MAURITANIA--Nouakchott, 18 Apr (TANJUG)--Dusan Grubor, new ambassador of the SFRY to the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, today presented his credentials to Colonel Maayouia Ould Sidi Ahmed Taya, Mauritanian head of state and president of the Military Committee for National Salvation. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1956 GMT 18 Apr 85 LD]

RELIEF TO FAMINE-STRICKEN AFRICA--Belgrade, 18 Apr (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav Government is shortly to send relief aid to the famine-stricken African countries valued at 400 million dinars (approximately 250 dinars to the dollar). The aid, including food, drugs and industrial goods--all produced in Yugoslavia--is intended for Ethiopia, Sudan, Mozambique, Tanzania, Somalia, eastern Angola, Mali and Bourkina Faso in Western Africa. This was stated at a meeting today of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia group in charge of coordinating the drive to send the aid to the famine-stricken African countries. Beside the Yugoslav Government aid, the Yugoslav Red Cross continues to collect and send special aid to African countries. In the past four months, two shipments were sent to Ethiopia, Mali Tanzania and Mozambique, while food and tents valued at about 25 million dinars will be sent to Sudan shortly. A shipment of drugs and cholera



vaccine for Somalia is currently being prepared. Belgrade Radio and TV has joined the drive of collecting aid for Ethiopia and has, together with the UNICEF commission, organized a series of concerts, the revenue from which is intended for the hungry in Africa. ["Pool" item] [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0310 GMT 18 Apr 85 LD]

COOPERATION WITH AUSTRIAN PROVINCE--Vienna, 19 Apr (TANJUG)--Cooperation between the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and the Austrian Province of Styria gives a major contribution and impetus to the development of good-neighbourly relations between Yugoslavia and Austria, says a joint statement released in Draz today, at the end of a visit to the Styrian provincial assembly by an assembly delegation of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. Closing the two-day talks, the two delegations expressed readiness for furthering cooperation in the fields of economy, science, and culture, tourism and transport, as well as cooperation between individual towns in Croatia and Styria. The statement pointed to the extensive opportunities existing for development of the more advanced forms of economic and technical cooperation, investment and long-term economic cooperation, as well as joint projects on third markets. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 19 Apr 85 LD]

POZDERAC IN GDR--Berlin, 17 Apr (TANJUG)--Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, during his visit to the GDR, paid a visit to the Magdeburg area. In addition to acquainting himself with the activities of the SED, Pozderac visited the Ernst Thaelmann heavy machine building combine in Magdeburg. Here, the combine's representatives informed Pozderac of their successful cooperation with Yugoslav organizations of associated labor and of their interest in expanding and intensifying this cooperation. Ljubomir Majeric, the SFR ambassador in the GDR, accompanied Hamdija Pozderac on his visit to Magdeburg. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 17 Apr 85 LD]

ROZIC MEETS FINNISH ACTIVISTS--Helsinki, 24 Apr (TANJUG)--President of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia Marjan Rozic, who is currently on a visit to Finland at the invitation of the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL), met SKDL Chairman Kalevi Kivito yesterday. During the frank and friendly talk, they exchanged views on topical questions of the social and economic development of Yugoslavia and Finland and on questions related to international relations. Both sides assessed the visit by president of the largest Yugoslav socio-political organization as a contribution to the further promotion of relations between the SAWPY and the SKDL. At the same time, their cooperation constitutes a significant friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Finland it was pointed out. Rozic, who is also a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee, also had talks with General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland Esko Vaino. The meeting was assessed as a contribution to the continuity of dialogue and cooperation between the SAWPY and the LCY, on the one hand, and the Communist Party of Finland, on the other. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0855 GMT 24 Apr 85 LD]

OFFICIAL VISITS. BELGRADE--League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Presidium member Dusan Dragosavac had a meeting in Belgrade yesterday with PCI Central Committee member and Foreign Section Chief Antonio Rubbi and PCI Foreign Section aide Massimo Micucci. During the lengthy and cordial conversation the LCY and PCI representatives exchanged information on the situation in their respective countries and discussed some of the principal aspects of the present international situation. During their stay in the Yugoslav capital, which they visited at the LCY's invitation, Rubbi and Micucci also met with LCY Central Committee Presidium Secretary Dimce Belovski. [Unattributed report: "PCI Delegation Visits Belgrade"] [Text] [Milan L'UNITA in Italian 18 Apr 85 p 8 PM]

BURUNDI ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Belgrade, 22 Apr (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received credentials from Paul Munyembari, newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Burundi to the SFRY, at the Palace of the Federation today, after which the two sides had a friendly conversation. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 22 Apr 85 LD]

POLITICAL, SECURITY SITUATION--Pristina, 16 April (TANJUG)--Measures taken and those that are being taken in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo have created a more favourable political-security situation, member of the presidency of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo Ilija Vakic said, speaking to reserve officers there. Vakic pointed out that migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, where a majority of 1.6 million inhabitants are of the Albanian origin, continues, but that it is no longer of mass proportions as earlier. In the southern Yugoslav province of Kosovo counterrevolutionary unrests, instigated by Albanian irredentists, wanting ethnically pure Kosovo, broke out in Spring 1981. Vakic emphasized that there "are not so numerous and drastic nationalist assaults as earlier" but that there are still "silent, invisible pressures and unequal treatment." Return to those who migrated due to different pressures is of special significance Vakic said. During the last 2 years about 1,600 persons returned, and 400 persons got jobs, Vakic said. Speaking about the problem of employment in the province Vakic emphasized that the demographic explosion in Kosovo from year to year heightens this problem. He pointed out that difficulties and further drop in standard of living will continue if population increase of 30,000 new inhabitants a year continues in Kosovo. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 16 Apr 85 LD]

MACEDONIAN SR TERRITORIAL DEFENSE--The Territorial Defense of the Macedonian SR, as a component part of the SFRY United Armed Forces, represents a respectable force capable of operating in a mobile and efficient manner against anyone who might threaten our territorial integrity, achievements of our revolution, and the socialist self-managing system, Lieutenant-Colonel-General Todo Atanasovski, Macedonian Territorial Defense commander, stressed at today's working meeting with members of the Macedonian SR presidency the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, and leaders of republican organs and organizations. Lt-Col-Gen Atanasovski and his associates are reported to have informed those present at today's working meeting of the state, achieved level of development, and directions for further expansion of the Republic's Territorial Defense. It was stressed in this context that as a result of the unreserved material support by self-managing and social structures and the Territorial Defense members' high ideopolitical consciousness and motivation, a high level of combat readiness and capability of units in carrying out the set tasks has been achieved. It was pointed out that in the coming period attention will be primarily devoted to the qualitative strengthening of units, intensification

of training, provision of modern equipment, socialization of defense matters, and strengthening the moral and political unity, this being the guarantee for the successful carrying out of tasks. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 12 Apr 85 LD]

SLOVENE YOUTH PRESS CRITICIZED--TANJUG--Observed on the whole, the Slovene public information media made a great contribution last year to objectively informing the public about the successes and achievements of members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. The majority of the articles published contributed to nurturing and further enhancing the armed force's social reputation and to the confidence of our country's working people in the society's defense power. This was said on the occasion of yesterday's analysis of the public information in 1984 that was prepared by the Ljubljana Army District Command. During the talk that representatives of the Ljubljana Army District had with journalists who report on the sphere of all-people's defense and social self-protection, a series of suggestions were made regarding better and more comprehensive cooperation between the public information media and the YPA. Some faults and errors in public information were also indicated. Thus a part of the youth press in the republic wrote about the YPA in some articles from standpoints that are unacceptable and extremely harmful for our socialist self-managing system, because they present a distorted picture of life and work in the YPA. The publishing of such texts, it was said, cannot be permitted any longer. [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 85 p 6 AU]

WAR ANNIVERSARY PEOPLE'S MEETING--Sid, 13 Apr (TANJUG)--A people's meeting held in Sid today and attended by about 150,000 people, marked the 40th anniversary of the Srem front breakthrough in 1945, one of the most important battles in the final operations for the liberation of Yugoslavia. The meeting was opened by Nikola Kmezcic, member of the LCY Central Committee, who greeted all those present, among them Radovan Vlackovic, vice president of the SFRY presidency, and Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee. The meeting was also attended by delegations from the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States--the countries whose military missions were attached to the Yugoslav liberation army's supreme headquarters during the war. On behalf of Yugoslavia's young generation the meeting was greeted by Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, president of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, and was ended by Nikola Ljubicic's speech. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 13 Apr 85 LD]

SUDANESE LEADER RECEIVES AMBASSADOR--Khartoum, 10 Apr (TANJUG)--General Siwar al-Dhahab, president of the Transitional Military Council of Sudan, today received Blagoje Mihov, the Yugoslav ambassador in Sudan and had brief talks with him on the latest situation in the country. General Dhahab informed the Yugoslav ambassador of the conditions under which the army had had to prevent bloodshed and carry out peaceful revolution. Both sides also expressed the desire to continue to develop the traditional friendly relations between the two countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 10 Apr 85 LD]

DJURANOVIC DECORATES BANGLADESH AMBASSADOR--Belgrade--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY presidency, yesterday [8 April] presented the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Sash to Nazrul Islam, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the SFRY. Afterwards, Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic and Bangladesh Ambassador Nazrul Islam, who will shortly leave our country, had a friendly conversation. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 85 p 6 AU]

MILITARY ACADEMY NAME CHANGE--Rajlovac, 14 April (TANJUG)--Effective 1 September, the Air Force Technical Military Academy in Rajlovac [near Sarajevo] will change its name into the military Air Force and Air Defense Academy. This does not imply only a formal change of name, but also the establishment of a completely new teaching program. In the future, training of the officers of the Yugoslav People's Army for the needs of the air force and air defense will last 5 years continuously. Under the present system of training, the majority of cadets used to go to work in units and after a fixed period they would continue their advanced vocational training. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 14 Apr 85 ID]

CRIMINAL CASES IN SLOVENIA 1984--Ljubljana, March--"The public Prosecutor's Office of Slovenia assesses that there were considerably fewer cases of various forms of crime in 1984 than in the last few years." Last year, there were 32,680 criminal reports received by public prosecutors' offices, 1,302 less than in 1983. Indictments were filed against 17,291 adults for 18,089 criminal acts, 10 percent fewer people and 14 percent fewer criminal acts than in 1983. On the basis of these indictments, courts passed verdicts against 16,559 people, 10 percent more than in 1983. Of this number, 13,746 accused were pronounced guilty, 1,415 were acquitted, and proceedings were suspended against 1,498. The number of reports for political criminal acts also decreased: reports for verbal political criminal acts were submitted against only 26 persons in 1984, against 56 in 1983, against 72 in 1982, 77 in 1981, and 104 in 1980. In 1984, interior affairs organs examined 337 law violations with a political background, 153 of which remained unresolved and 67 percent being offense of sociopolitical order of the SFRY by writing and wearing various signs and emblems and in other ways. Spreading alarming news that offend citizens' national or political consciousness account for 28 percent of cases. In 1984, courts punished 20 persons for political crimes (against 17 in 1983) of whom 8 received conditional sentences. [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 85 p 4 AU]

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